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The background of the entire page is a black and white marbled paper, featuring a complex pattern of swirling, cell-like shapes with dark, textured borders and lighter, mottled centers. A rectangular text box is centered on the page, framed by a decorative border of small, repeating triangular motifs. Inside the box, the text is printed in a serif font, with some elements in italics. The number 'No. 214' is handwritten in a dark ink.

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For Review See Edinburgh Review 1829!
— Vol 14 — p. 353

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CHARACTERS

OF

THE LATE

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

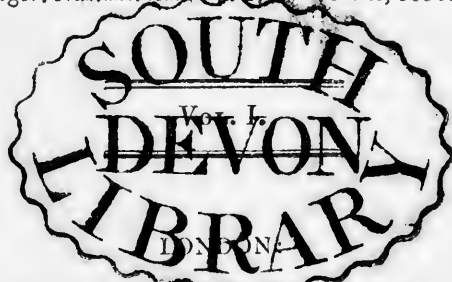
SELECTED,

AND IN PART WRITTEN,

BY PHILOPATRIS VARVICENSIS.

Ὅρω δὲ καὶ κἀνομι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρώμενοι, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην βλέποντες μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν σκοποῦντες, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἔυωνοι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπαινεσόμεθα καὶ σιωπησόμεθα, τὰ ἐπαίνων ἢ σιωπῆς ἄξια. Πάντων δὲ ἀτοπώτατον, εἰ * * * * * τοὺς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐπαινεῖν οὐ κωλύσει τὸ ἀγνωστον καὶ ἀμάετρον, τοὺς γινωσκομένους δὲ ἡ φιλία κωλύσει, καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν φθόνος, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλαγμένους, καὶ οἷς ἄκρον τὸ χαρίζεσθαι, καταλιπῶσι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας ἢ ψέγοντας.

Gregor. Nazianz. tom. I. p. 177. ed. Paris, 1630. Orat. xi.



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1809.

THOMAS WILLIAM JAMES

THE PERSONAL AND PRIVATE

OF THE LATE

CHARLES JAMES THOMAS

THE ESTATE AND THE DECEASED

OF THE FAMILY OF

AS INDICATED BY THE

IN THE YEAR 1880

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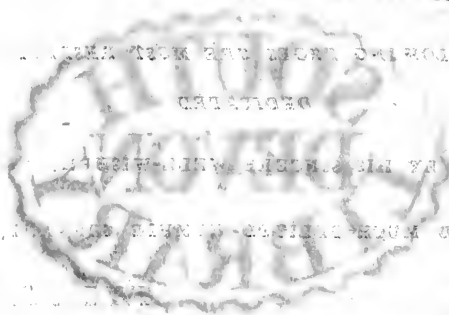
A CERTIFICATE OF

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10

TO
THOMAS WILLIAM COKE, Esq.

THE PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FRIEND

OF THE LATE

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

THE FAITHFUL AND INDEPENDENT REPRESENTATIVE

OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK,

THE JUDICIOUS AND MUNIFICENT PROMOTER OF

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS,

THE STEADY GUARDIAN OF CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM,

THE RESOLUTE OPPOSER

OF INTOLERANCE, CORRUPTION, AND

UNNECESSARY WAR;

A GENTLEMAN IN HIS MANNERS AND SPIRIT,

AND

A CHRISTIAN IN FAITH AND PRACTICE,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

BY HIS SINCERE WELL-WISHER,

AND MUCH-OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

TO

THOMAS WILLIAM COLE, Esq.

THE HONORABLE AND EXCELLENT

OF THE STATE

OF JAMES J. COLE

AND J. COLE, Esq.

OF THE COUNTY OF

AND J. COLE, Esq.

OF THE COUNTY OF

AND J. COLE, Esq.

OF THE COUNTY OF

AND J. COLE, Esq.

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OF THE COUNTY OF

AND J. COLE, Esq.

AND J. COLE, Esq.

AND J. COLE, Esq.

AND J. COLE, Esq.

P R E F A C E.

IT was thought by some friends of Mr. Fox that a collection of the best written Characters which had been drawn of him soon after his death, would not be unacceptable to the public. Those which are here presented to the reader, have been selected from many others with the utmost impartiality. They were written by men of different parties, and perhaps, even to distant generations they will not be wholly uninteresting, by the views which they exhibit of Mr. Fox's merits or demerits, as they were estimated by some of his intelligent contemporaries.

The Editor has exercised his own judgment in republishing the whole, or what appeared to him the more important parts, of the articles which he found in newspapers, in periodical works, in sermons, and even in poems where the name of Mr. Fox was incidentally introduced. Remembering the ingenuous and artless mind of Mr. Fox himself, the Editor has excluded

some complimentary statements, which, upon careful enquiry, he had reason to believe unsupported by facts. He thought it his duty to incorporate frequent commendations of Mr. Pitt. He has not refused admission to many censures upon Mr. Fox. But he has rejected all coarse and acrimonious invectives, because he was convinced that they would be disgusting alike to the warm admirers and the honourable opponents of that illustrious statesman. He supposes that, by anonymous writers, no offence will be taken at his endeavours to give additional notoriety to compositions, the selection of which is a proof that his own mind was not unfavourably impressed with the propriety of the matter, or the graces of the style. He trusts, too, that his excellent friends Dr. Symmons and Mr. Belsham will excuse him for having made some extracts from the judicious and elegant discourses which they delivered from the pulpit, and afterwards committed to the press.

The character of Mr. Fox, which some years ago appeared in the Preface to *Bellendenus de Statu*, is inserted with the permission of the author, and the same person is to be considered as the writer both of the Letter and the Notes, which are placed at the conclusion of the work.

Having separated several quotations from classical authors, and several remarks upon Mr. Fox himself, from the text of that Letter, and having thrown them into Notes, the writer did not chuse to disturb the epistolary form in which they had been originally prepared; and for the sake of consistency, he preserved the same form in all the additional Notes.

It is necessary to state, that his observations upon our Penal Code were suggested to him by the remembrance of a most serious, and in truth, nearly the last conversation which passed between himself and Mr. Fox; and upon this circumstance he would rest his apology for submitting them, on the present occasion, to the consideration of the public. As he had expressed some of his expectations upon the probable merit of Mr. Fox's History in the earlier part of his Notes, and before the appearance of the work itself, he could not, with propriety, be quite silent when that History had seen the light, and when it was in his power to form a more correct opinion of its excellencies and its faults. He is aware that some controversial discussions, which in justice to Mr. Fox's memory, he could not avoid, will be interesting chiefly to ecclesiastical readers. But it should not be forgotten that

among them will be found many persons of learning, sense, and virtue, to whose esteem Mr. Fox, if he were living, would not be indifferent, and to whose judgment therefore is more particularly addressed the vindication of Mr. Fox's principles from the severe charges brought against them in a periodical work, which has, and deserves to have, a very extensive circulation, and a very favourable reception, among the teachers of the established church.

As to the Notes, which in number and size have imperceptibly grown far beyond the original expectation of the Editor, he must content himself with stating, that the additional ones suggested themselves to his mind when he was gathering a rank and huge bundle of errata in the sheets printed off—that the matter contained in them and the preceding ones, relates to subjects which he thinks important—that he in all probability will have no future opportunity for communicating his opinions upon those subjects, and that he sees no reason for believing even the present communication of them likely to be unacceptable to that class of readers to whose decisions upon questions of criticism, politics, and ethics, he is disposed to pay the greatest respect.

ANIMUM habet Foxius, cùm magnum et excelsum, tum etiam simplicem et apertum, eminétque unus inter omnes in omni ferè genere dicendi.

Sed quoniam oppressi sumus opinionibus non solùm vulgi, verùm etiam hominum leviter eruditorum; nostrum de stylo ejus judicium, quod tandem sit, paulò fusiùs jam, et accuratiùs explicabimus.

Multos vidi Oratores, quos in verbis ægrè perpendendis coagmentandisque, sollicitudo infelix maceraret. Foxii autem animus varias in res continuas ita intenditur, ut eas tanquam provisas aptissimæ voces haud invitè sequantur. Omnia is quidem novit verba esse alicubi optima. Itaque, quæ cultiore in parte viderentur sordida et humilia, ea nonnunquam in Orationibus ejus suam quandam vim habent, et locum suum. At sunt in promptu, si res poscit, aut magis ornata, aut plus efficientia, aut meliùs et plenius sonan-

tia. Exprimit quamque difficiliorem cogitationem quædam *ἄλογος τριβή*, interque exprimendum expolit atque amplificat. Vivunt omnia moventurque. Spiritu ipso ejus qui dicit, excitantur auditores, nec imagine solùm et ambitu rerum, sed rebus ipsis novis et veluti nascentibus incenduntur. Plurimum igitur sanguinis nervorumque ejus in sermone esse, nemo est qui inficias eat. Aiunt autem nonnulli paulò morosiores abesse illi, et quidem deesse planè atque omninò, stylum nitidum et lætum, qui omnes undique flosculos carpat et delibet. Sed meminerint ii, velim, judicio illum potiùs refugisse hasce dicendi delicias et ineptias, quàm formidine ulla desperasse. Etenim, quæ attentum quemque, dum audiuntur, et docilem reddunt validæ aptissimæque sententiæ, illis sanè ipsis, cùm leguntur, suavis inest, non dulcis et decocta, sed, quæ à Cicerone meritò laudatur, solida et austera.

Habet Foxius hoc etiam verè admirabile: quòd salubritatem dictionis Anglicæ et quasi sanitatem nunquam perdit, ut eos qui in calamistris adhibendis peregrinam quandam insolentiam consecantur, simplicitate prorsùs inaffectedata, et tanquam orationis sapore vernaculo obruat. Novit enim, qui non dicat quod intelligamus, eundem minùs posse quod admiremur, dicere. Novit etiam, quæ maximam utilitatem in se contineant, eadem in oratione habere plurimum vel dignitatis, vel sæpè etiam venustatis.

Jam verò eloquentiæ fulmina intelligit vibrari non posse, nisi numeris quibusdam contorqueantur. Hac de causa verborum perpetuitate, et conversione nonnunquam utitur, ut severos per illa unguēs junctura effundat. Sæpè orationem carpit membris minutioribus, quæ tamen ipsa rythmo quodam suo vinciuntur. Facile tamen in hac parte deprehendes negligentiam quandam haud ingratam, quæ hominem magis de judicii certamine, quàm de aucupio ullo delectationis laborantem indicet. Scilicet numeros illos minutos nunquam ita sequitur, ut sententias concidat delumbétque. Nunquam verba inferciens inania et canora, quasi rimas orationis explere studet. Otiosis ornamentis nunquam onerat de lassátque aures, quarum est superbissimum judicium. Inde fit, ut neque diffuens sit aliquid et solutum, neque infractum, aut amputatum, aut hians. In conficiendo autem verborum orbe non apertè omnia, nec eodem modo semper, sed variè dissimulantérque concluduntur.

Cùm rerum ipsarum usum Foxius percalleat, regiones videtur nōsse omnes, intra quas venari quod quærat, et pervestigare oporteat. Quæ de re agitur autem illud, quod Juris-consultorum formulis et argutiis Dialecticorum includitur, tum quò valeat, tum ubi situm sit, prudentissimè videt; sempérque de eo amplè disserit copiosèque, aut distinctè atque articulatim disputat. Quæ divulsa et dissipata sunt, ea omnia conglu-

tinat, et ratione quadam constringit. Si quid involutum pauló-ve insolentius est, notitiam ejus aperit, non exiliter et jejunè, aut ampullarum ope et sesquipedalium verborum, sed dilucidè, expeditè, et commune ad judicium popularémque intelligentiam accommodatissimè.

Si in exordiis auditores primò movet leviter, reliqua illis jam inclinatis graviter incumbit acris et contorta Oratio. Ipsæ porrò prolusiones, non ad speciem illæ quidem compositæ, ut Samnitum, qui hastis ante pugnam vibratis nihil in pugnando utebantur; sed ejusmodi sunt, ut ei magno usui esse possint, cùm ad victoriam acerrimè nitatur. Res cum si qua premit vehementer, ita cedit, ut non modò non abjecto, sed ne rejecto quidem scuto, fugiat; suòque in præsidio consistens, loci eligendi causa *ἐντροπαλίξασθαι* * videatur. Ad refellendos autem adversarios tela confert omnia. Digitos modò comprimit, et aculeis Dialectices, quæ tanquam contracta et adstricta Eloquentia putanda est, pungit homines in disputando perpugnaces: modò dilatat manus, et Orationis illius, quæ amplior magnificentiorque et splendidior est, omnes habenas effundit. Ingenii autem magnitudo ejus omnis ferè elucet, cùm antè occupat quod opponi posse videat; cùm sermones hominum morésque describit; cùm exemplis utitur; cùm denuntiat, quid adversarii caveant; cùm fraudes civium ad perniciem,

* Hom. Il. 11: l. 546.

et integritatem ad salutem vocat; cùm liberius quid audet; cùm supplicat, optat, execratur.

Conciliantur vel maximè auditorum animi dignitate hominis, rebus gestis, vitæ denique existimatione; quæ quidem omnia, licet in adversario Foxii non meliora sint, faciliùs tamen ornatiùsque finguntur, ut probus, ut benè moratus, ut bonus vir esse videatur. Sed quoquo modo se illud habet, Foxius est Orator verè civilis, vereque sapiens. Non otiosis se disputationibus, sed Reipublicæ administrationi potissimùm dedit. Cùm priùs, quod honestum sit, in animo suo efficere constituit, omnibus, ad efficiendum quod proposuerit, naturæ dotibus, omnibus instrumentis artis, et obnixè et decenter utitur. Hac de causa, quos audienti mihi motus adhibere voluit, illi semper in animo Oratoris impressi et inusti esse videbantur.

Dicendi, sicut reliquarum artium, fundamentum est sapientia. Qui autem et à doctrina¹ fuerit liberaliter instructus, et multo jam imbutus usu, ejus solet animus illuc rapi, ubi non aliqua seclusa Eloquentiæ aquula tenetur, sed unde universum flumen erumpit. Ad res igitur humiles et tenuiores, quæ vel explanatè vel subtiliter tractandæ sunt, Foxii ingenium nonnunquam summittitur. Decet hoc nescio quomodò illum. Arripit, quotiescunque vult, medium illud dicendi genus. Gravitatis ad locos subito conver-

titur, ascenditque ad fortiora, et pervenit in summum.

Præceps et rapida ejus Oratio fit interdum, cum, idcirco obscura, quia peracuta est, tum, celeritate ipsa paululum cæcata. Sed neque verbis aptiorem citò aliam dixeris, neque sententiis crebriorem. Profectò maxima in rerum verborumque varietate, unus insidet tota in oratione quasi color quidam, et succus suus. Habet ea tamen veluti umbram aliquam et recessum, quò magis ea quæ illustriora sunt, eminere solent atque exstare. Summa est etiam in Foxio, perinde ac Demosthene, laus illa, quòd inter diversas et in omnem partem diffusas disputationes, versat sæpè multis modis eandem et unam rem: quòd hæret in ea commoratúrque: quòd inculcat eam mentibus hominum atque infigit altissimè.

Monendi sunt ii quorum de hac re sermo imperitus nimis increbruit, illud ipsum, quod in Foxio reprehendunt, esse artis vel intimæ et ingenii haud mediocris. Sæpè sunt illius sententiæ, si per se spectantur, graves et exquisitæ et ex abdito erutæ, ut videantur è Philosophorum spatiis, potiùs quàm è Rhetorum officinis, profluxisse. Sæpè in propria ac definita disputatione hominum ac temporum versantur. Sæpè ad communem quæstionem universi generis traducuntur. Quò autem capiant te magis magisque, modò eas collocat in hoc lumine, modò in illo. Nimirum ad sensus voluntatésque diversas

diversorum hominum inflectendas, orationis vim consultò accommodat. Quamobrem variis illam novisque insignibus distinguit; variis et inexpectatis confirmat argumentis; varios trahit et repentinos in usus, ut animos etiam non faventium, aut commotos, in quam velit partem, alliciat, aut concitatos secum rapiat.

Dixi eam esse Foxio ingenii facultatem, quæ semper causis, in quas inciderit, parem se ostendat. Quoties autem illæ sunt dignæ in quibus latiùs se fundat, luminosas ad partes et quasi actuosas accedens, quicquid in dicendo potest, totum expromit. Quod quidem cùm facit, veluti amnis monte decurrens saxa devolvit, et pontem indignatur, & ripas se coërcentes undique diruit, copia atque impetu verborum. Hanc utique dicendi vim et celeritatem in Pericle olim mirabatur Eupolis: ad hanc obstupescunt auditores, qui Foxio acerbissimè conviciantur.

Profectò ad indignissimam viri hujusce fortunam cùm respicio, et præteritorum recordatio est acerba, et quidem acerbior expectatio reliquorum. Maximè is tamen laudandus est, qui in hoc communi civium integerrimorum et quasi fatali malo consoletur se, cùm conscientia mentis optimæ, tum, sanioris illius, quod de se posteritas latura sit, iudicii expectatione.

Nunc de iis dicendum est, quæ mihi conspiratione quadam vulgi reclamari intelligo. Qui enim reliquis in hominibus mites sunt, et cupi-

ditates, quas Natura juvenibus profudit, faciles et tolerabiles habere solent ; in hac fuerunt causa pertristes quidam patroi, censores, magistri.

Hi sunt eorum assidui et quotidiani sermones. “ Si qui voluptatibus ducuntur, et se vitiorum illecebris dediderunt, missos faciant honores : ne attingant rempublicam.”

Quid igitur agam ? quippe magna responsi invidia subeunda est, neque mitigari possunt legentium aures. Veniam igitur petere non ausim — Perfugiis non utar juventutis aut temporum. Fatebor sanè Foxium, cùm in lubricas adolescentiæ vias ingrederetur, stuperétque jam insolitis et insanis fulgoribus, tanto mentis robore non fuisse, ut ei æqualium studia, ludique, et convivia displicuerint. Erupisse in eo fatebor, illum impetum ardorémque, qui, sive ad litteras humaniores, sive ad prudentiam civilem, sive ad luxuriam amorésque inclinaret, id unum ageret, id toto pectore arriperet, id universum hauriret. Fatebor à vera illa et directa ratione non gradu illum aliquo, sed præcipiti cursu descivisse : ut patrimonium effuderit, ut fœnore trucidatus sit, et naturale quoddam stirpis bonum degeneraverit vitio ætatis. At hæ, deliciæ quæ vocantur, etsi ad eas hæserit, nunquam hunc occupatum impedítumque tenuerunt diu. At facultate jam florens, et studiis eloquentiæ per intervalla flagrans, cum blandimentis hisce conjunxit plurimum dignitatis. At scelere semper caruit. At

in *Luxum se præcipitavit eum, qui à Tacito dicitur eruditus, itémque à Cicerone habetur homine ingenuo et libero †dignior. At revocavit se identidem ad curam reipublicæ. At ‡Petronii instar, vigentem se ostendit, et negotiis parem; effecitque, perinde ac §Mutianus, ut, in quo nimix essent, cum vacaret, voluptates, in eo, quoties expediret, magnæ elucerent virtutes. At vixit, hodiéque idem vivit, amicis carus. At dulcissimus illis semper occurrit, eò quòd æqualitas et pares honorum gradus, et studiorum quasi finitima vicinitas, tantùm absunt ab invidiæ obtrectatione, ut non modò non exulcerare eorum gratiam, sed conciliare videantur. At dignus est quem numeres inter multos et quidem bonos, qui, cùm adolescentiam ferè totam voluptatibus deditissent, emergerint aliquando, probique homines et illustres exstiterint.

Reipublicæ in procuratione dum versaretur, consilia sua omnia ita diligenter et animosè instituit, ita fuit ad excogitandum quid è Republica esset, solers acérque, ita ad negotia obeunda alacer et promptus, ut, ne æmulis quidem aut adversariis pernegantibus, ostenderit sese

Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρα τε ἔργων. ||

* Tacit. Annal. 16. cap. 18. † Orat. in L. Pis. par. 11.

‡ Tacit. Annal. 16. cap. 18. § —Hist. 1. cap. 10.

|| Hom. Iliad: 9. 443.

*Extract from the Morning Post of September 15,
1806.*

"MR. FOX IS DEAD!

"PEACE TO HIS MANES!

"THIS afflicting event took place at Chiswick House, between five and six o'clock on Saturday afternoon. At three o'clock in the morning, evident symptoms of approaching dissolution appeared, and continued to increase till four in the afternoon, when he became so languid and exhausted that his speech failed him, and at a quarter before six he breathed his last. His dissolution was gentle; to the last moment he appeared to suffer but little pain; and, with the meekness of a lamb, and the resignation of a Christian, he expired without a groan. Mrs. Fox and Lord Holland remained with him to the last moment, and vain would be the attempt to give even a distant idea of the painful interest of the awful and afflicting scene. No other persons, except the Physicians, were present.

"The Bulletins of the day were as follow :

" ' Chiswick House, Eight o'Clock in the Morning.

" ' Dr. Moseley has the honour to acquaint Lady Elizabeth Foster, that Mr. Fox has had but little rest in the night; and that his pulse is quicker and weaker than it was yesterday, and the languor increased."

" ' Eleven o'Clock.

" ' The languor is still further increased."

" ' Six o'Clock.

" ' Mr. Fox is dead!"

"As an orator, Mr. Fox deservedly possessed a most prominent rank amongst the ornaments of the British Senate. With powers of mind of the very first order, and habits of thought and reflection of the most profound description, it was impossible for him, whilst he mixed in public affairs,

not to establish an ascendancy in every discussion respecting them. Accordingly we have seen him, on every such occasion, with the exception only of his ill-judged secession from Parliament, taking the foremost ground, in opposing the measures and policy of that truly great Minister and transcendant Statesman, the late Mr. Pitt. Whilst the minor members of his party were employed in skirmishing, or making feeble attacks on the outworks, Mr. Fox uniformly assailed the citadel. He disdained to enter the lists against any adversary, but the great leader of his opponents, whilst he remained to be encountered. It would be invidious to remind our readers, on the present occasion, of the little success that generally attended such assaults. The object of his attacks was too firmly entrenched on the advantageous grounds of policy and patriotism, to allow any serious impression to be made upon him. But if Mr. Fox failed in his hostile operations, he was never disgraced by his defeat. Though we could not approve the cause, we could not withhold our admiration of the ability with which it was uniformly supported. The extent of his knowledge and the fecundity of his mind enabled Mr. Fox, whenever it suited his views, to swell trifles to consequence, and to enhance even the magnitude of important questions. He was gifted with a force of sagacity, that enabled him instantly to comprehend the most multiplied details, to analyse the most complicated arguments, and to reduce the most refined and elaborate positions to the standard of first principles. Always animated himself, he never failed to animate others. Unambitious of the melody of sounds, or the decorative embellishments of polished language, he studied only the lucid exposition of his matter, and the precision and force of his reasoning were principally directed to guide the judgment, and inform the understanding. He neglected, we think culpably neglected, that most essential requisite of a finished orator—fluent, copious, and correct diction. Attentive only to his matter, he was often betrayed into solecisms of language, and violations of grammatical accuracy, that were unpardonable in a leading public Speaker. In this respect he was far, nay infinitely below his great and illustrious Rival.

Whilst we could discern in him all the characters of a vigorous and active mind, we had always to regret the absence of those exterior graces that uniformly accompanied and enriched the fine powers of his adversary, enhancing their influence without diminishing their strength. In him we beheld the massy materials of the scarcely finished structure; in his great political rival we contemplated all the order, elegance, and decorations of the finished pile. Mr. Fox, as a Speaker, might be compared to the rough but masterly specimen of the Sculptor's Art; Mr. Pitt to the exquisitely finished statue. The former wanted a polish to render him perfect; the latter possessed, in a transcendent degree, every requisite quality of an accomplished Orator. The force of Mr. Fox's reasoning flashed, like lightning, upon the minds of his hearers; the thunders of Mr. Pitt's eloquence gave irresistible effect to his powerful and convincing arguments. Though Mr. Fox's reasoning was always cogent, and occasionally conclusive in the detail, it was frequently defective in point of arrangement for establishing his general conclusion. Like the lightning, to which we have compared it, many numberless distinct flashes succeeded each other in rapid order, without producing any impression correspondent either to their number or their individual force. Bursting, in frequent but often unconnected succession, from his fertile mind, they electrified when they did not convince, and always left a sense of admiration at their acuteness and splendour, even when their light was eclipsed in the glare of subsequent flashes. Mr. Pitt's eloquence, on the contrary, proceeded with all the majesty of sound, and all the force of fire; uniting the rapidity of the flash with the awful solemnity of the peal, it enveloped his auditors in the light of conviction, and made the impression indelible by the irresistible energy with which it was urged. Perhaps the world never produced, at any one period, two individuals so eminently superior to their contemporaries, so peculiarly calculated to be mutual rivals. Each excelling in a different style of eloquence, they were found almost uniformly ranged, and it was in their collision with each other that their peculiar perfections were brought to light. Had Mr. Pitt and

Mr. Fox commenced and continued their political career on the same side, neither would, perhaps, have attained the eminence which both acquired. The planets shine with more lustre in opposition than in conjunction. If either were the sun, we should not hesitate to say (and we are sure no impartial mind will deny) it was Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox was unquestionably a great luminary, the center of a comprehensive system, giving light and heat to a number of secondary bodies. The great Sun, however, of British Statesmen, set with the late Premier. The time and lustre of that great Statesman's appearance above our political horizon will ever be remembered with pride by his grateful countrymen. And what must highly aggravate the loss which the country has now to deplore in the Death of Mr. Fox, is the reflection that two such eminent men have, at such a crisis, been snatched away from its service within so short a period.

“ In contemplating the peculiar powers which Mr. Fox possessed, we cannot avoid being struck with the extraordinary fecundity of his mind. It was from this exuberance of ideas, perhaps, that the desultory character which often appeared in his speeches arose. Teeming with thought, and overflowing with a torrent of ideas, it was not always that he could preserve his arrangement perspicuous and consecutive. Every argument told; but, in the heat of debate, and from the luxuriance of a rich intellect, he was too apt to glide into fresh reasoning, before he could make his former argument bear upon the general question. Thus impressions successively, but separately and independently made, were too likely to lose some of their force from their frequency; and it required a mind as capacious and well stored as his own, to follow him through such a complicated chain of reasoning. This character, however, was confined to his extempore speeches, which he delivered in reply to others, or without previous preparation. No such defect was to be discovered in any of those splendid specimens of his powers of oratory, to which he came prepared. His speech on the Catholic Question will ever remain a distinguished monument of his powers of mind and reasoning.

In that, all is order and judicious arrangement; every argument is put with irresistible force, and great and inevitable effect upon the question he was discussing. This circumstance shews, that the defect of method in other instances was only to be ascribed to a want of the necessary industry; and that if Mr. Fox had always applied with the same attention, he would scarcely have been second to any orator, either ancient or modern. There was in Mr. Fox's style of speaking a peculiar perfection, which was wholly his own, and in which he never had a rival. He had such a felicity of conception, and such a flow of thought, that he generally expressed more matter in fewer words, than any speaker of his own or any other times. When the press of his ideas was too copious for any organs to give them utterance, Mr. Fox contrived to clothe a great multitude of them in a few words, and it was not surprising if he was sometimes at a loss for an expression.

The pregnancy of his language was only to be exceeded by the fecundity of his mind, and whilst he could draw from an exhaustless store, he never had occasion to husband his matter. Every sentence he uttered was charged with ideas and full of meaning. Though we might differ with him in opinion, it was impossible to avoid admiring his singular penetration in discovering a weak point, and his singular force in exposing it. He attacked with the vigour of a powerful, and defended himself with the ability of a sound and judicious reasoner; so that, whether victorious or defeated, he always preserved the character of a first-rate Speaker, and proved a formidable opponent even to the incomparable Pitt. At any period the loss of such a man would be deeply to be lamented, but in the present instance it is afflicting, because scarcely reparable. The chasm created in the Senate by the death of the late Premier has not yet been filled up, nor is it likely to be soon supplied. The event that calls for our immediate regret extends the melancholy void, and multiplies the difficulties of supplying it. Many ages may pass away before two such characters can again be produced. As they lived rivals in fame, so have they died rivals in glory, both having fallen sacrifices to the

fatigues of office, and an unintermitting attention to their public duties. And again, Mr. Pitt had eminently the advantage, in point of the duration and extent of his services.

“Of Mr. Fox’s merits as a statesman we can form but an imperfect opinion. To appreciate fully his character in that particular must be the work of time, and will be the province of the future Historian. To decide upon his merits as a Minister, would be to pronounce upon his antecedent conduct as a Senator; and to estimate his value as a Statesman, by the sentiments he entertained whilst a Leader of Opposition, would be to deprive him of any credit to be derived from his conduct, since he has been in office. There is no circumstance that renders his death more an object of regret to his real friends, than that, by being cut off in the infancy of his administration, he was deprived of the opportunity of setting himself right with the Public upon certain points, which had, perhaps, been too hastily decided against him. We are aware of the danger we run in touching upon this topic, of incurring the calumny and abuse of those intemperate zealots who would represent him without a blemish. But it is not by such extravagancies that a just estimate can be formed of his genuine claims as a Statesman. Extreme partiality may be a good criterion of attachment, but is a very fallible guide in forming an adequate and correct opinion of the merits of the object of it. We defy any, the most sanguine of his admirers, to entertain a higher opinion of his powers of mind and reasoning than we do; but whilst we ascribe to him those perfections which he eminently possessed, we cannot proceed farther affirmatively, than we have distinct and indisputable evidence to bear us out with. Since Mr. Fox has been in office, he has given repeated demonstrations of that enlarged spirit of policy, that comprehensive and commanding scale of combination, that uniformly belong to a great Minister, and were the peculiar characteristic of the illustrious Pitt; but we have had no proof of his actions corresponding strictly with his sentiments. His speech on the rupture with Prussia would have done honour to any minister; and the confidence with

which he would have relied on the nation for its own defence, if a good occasion offered for employing the whole of its disposable force out of it, shewed what a just estimate he had formed of the energies and strength of an armed nation. Beyond this, however, we can say nothing, fearful as we are that notwithstanding these patriotic and creditable sentiments, he was inclined to make more sacrifices at the shrine of Peace, than could be considered consistent with the honour, the interest, or the safety of the country. If we deeply regret his death, it is not from any apprehension we entertain respecting the conduct of his Colleagues in office (some of whom, we know, would rather cease to exist, than seal the dishonour of their country); but from the difficulty of supplying the place of those eminent and exalted qualities which he confessedly possessed; and from an indulgent hope, that if Providence had dealt out to him a more liberal measure of life, he might ultimately have redeemed his character from any blemishes it has contracted in the former parts of his political life.

“ However Politicians may differ as to the value and extent of his qualifications for the office of a principal Minister of State, all must concur in admiration of the rare and cultivated powers of his mind, the quickness and force of his imagination, the strength and acuteness of his reasoning, and the brilliancy, vigour and intensity of his eloquence. Whilst a taste for letters, and the higher endowments of the human mind, shall exist in this country, his memory will be cherished, and the regrets of the present, and the admiration of future generations, will consecrate the name of CHARLES JAMES FOX to everlasting fame, as a perfect gentleman, an accomplished scholar, and one of the first Parliamentary debaters that ever sat within the walls of St. Stephen’s Chapel.”

Extract

Extract from the Courier of September 15, 1806.

“WE have at length announced the Death of CHARLES JAMES FOX: of that eminent Senator, who, during so long a period of party violence and national panic, enjoyed the personal partiality of his Country in a higher degree than any recorded Statesmen whose opinions and conduct, under similar circumstances, had been equally distasteful to it; and who, on the other hand, in a less degree than any Statesman of equal, and equally acknowledged talents, possessed its Confidence. By Country, we mean the aggregate of those who have a definite stake in its welfare; the people of Great Britain as distinguished from the populace: and by Confidence, the disposition to entrust an individual with the paramount management of its resources for the increase and security of that welfare. We fully believe, that this event has been announced by us with a deeper sense of depression, if not with the same violence of regret, than even by the sincerest of his merely political adherents. We have not been less zealous than they in the admiration of his powers in the Senate; and the additional reasons of our sorrow being derived from the present state of the national feeling, rather than from our own expectations, and undistracted by the hopes and fears and bustle of party, may be presumed to act more distinctly on our understandings, and therefore more steadily on our feelings. Far be it from us to repeat the triumphant words of the new Ministerialists on the death of Mr. Pitt, and to affirm of Mr. Fox's public friends what they asserted of the friends of his great opponent. No! we look back on the death of Mr. Pitt, in reference to the present event, only to increase the melancholy

impression of both by the awful thought, that within so very short a period our Country should have lost the two men, to whom, as the great established State-rivals, all parties (for a few individuals can make no exception) had attributed a clear predominance in talents, political insight, and the powers of leading and cementing an effective party. It neither beseems us, or befits the occasion, to anticipate the judgment of posterity on the wisdom of this general feeling; it is sufficient that it notoriously existed, and we sincerely regret the loss of it, as we should do any loss that tended to lessen the national hopes in the present moment. Likewise, we do not see any other man, on whom the same sentiment in the same strength is likely to rest for so long a time with so little wavering.

“ We have lost a great public character, and the highest funeral honours that can be paid to a public character, consist in that deep national interest concerning it, which calls forth its fair and free investigation; and the highest compliment that can be paid to the individual is the belief, that his spirit, if still conscious of our goings on, would receive delight from any manly and unfactious examination of his measures, that even afforded the *chance* of preventing injury from the nature or excess of the principles that influenced them. To confine our expressions concerning the deceased to panegyric, is an adage, which many wise men have not deemed admissible, without great limitations, even with regard to ordinary men; but relatively to men like Mr. Fox, it would be a blank contradiction to the leading impulse of their lives; the honourable passion of lasting fame, and the hope that, even when dead, they may be as though they still lived. In this particular instance we possess a fresh argument from the almost continual counteraction between the two great rivals, whose loss we now jointly deplore: for whatever we should be forced to detract from Mr. Fox, will most often be a debt of justice paid to the memory of Mr. Pitt, and whatever from the opinions and conduct of Mr. Pitt, to the memory of Mr. Fox. Posterity will ultimately decide: and we doubt not but that so much of fair eulogy will be left for both, that the names of two men,

which the vehement opposition of almost half a life had linked together, will preserve that link for ages, sanctified by joint admiration and love. Themistocles and Aristides lived hostile to each other from an equal love of their country; and their country, under different aspects, honoured alike the memory of both, and repaid both with equal love.

“Mr. Fox was undoubtedly one of the greatest men this country hath ever produced—he possessed genius, political eloquence almost without an equal, and knowledge various, deep and extensive—his command over a popular assembly was astonishing! With the disadvantage of a voice at times discordant, his eloquence was irresistible—it was vehement, it was dignified, it was at times sublime—it roused the most sluggish, it warmed the coldest—it was a torrent so impetuous, that it hurried and swept along his hearers in spite almost of themselves. His mind had a vastness, an extent, a grasp which took in at one view the whole of a subject—he saw with a glance the weak and the strong parts of his antagonist’s position; he had great clearness of conception and arrangement; he had more than any other man the faculty of simplifying the most abstruse details, and of analysing the most complicated. Whilst he had a strength which made him able to contend with the most powerful, he had a plainness of reasoning which made him intelligible to the commonest understanding; he had a peculiar method of impressing any favourite point. If he saw, and he saw in a moment, that the first view in which he had placed it had not been attended with the desired effect, he reproduced it in another and another shape, till he had finally succeeded.—He had great dexterity in debate, and knew better than any man how to improve his advantage over an antagonist who had left himself open to attack. If he had less splendour, less richness of imagery, less profusion of metaphor, less poetic fire than Mr. Burke; if he had less elegance, less copiousness than Mr. Pitt, he had stronger reasoning powers, he had more mind than either of them. It has been affirmed, inconsiderately we think, that he was too little solicitous, too careless of his language; his language, however, would always stand the test of the most critical examination; it

was the best adapted to the expression of the particular idea or meaning he wished to convey ; it was pure, unadulterated English.—If he did not possess the wit of Mr. Burke or Mr. Sheridan, or the sarcasm of Mr. Pitt, he was not destitute of either of those qualities, but he rarely employed them. He seemed to disdain the idea of fretting his antagonist with a feather, when he could knock him down with a club. He had an astonishing memory. Often after a debate of many hours have we heard him reply to the arguments of every speaker on the opposite side, not only in the order in which they spoke, but in the order in which they arranged their arguments. His manner, if not graceful, was peculiarly impressive. He animated the hearer, because the hearer saw he was animated himself. His voice, though shrill, assisted wonderfully in rousing and fixing the attention of the House. In the heat and ardour of debate his eye was peculiarly commanding. He was always greatest in reply—it was then, when hard pressed and assailed by his antagonists, that all the man was roused, and all the powers and faculties of his great mind were brought into action. It was when he turned upon his pursuers that he became most formidable—

“ So looks the chased lion
Upon the daring huntsman that has galled him ;
Then makes him nothing.”

“ He had one advantage, and a great advantage it was, over his illustrious antagonist, that he had a more intimate acquaintance with men and things—that he had a deeper knowledge of the world, had had more familiar converse with mankind, and had studied more deeply the human character. Mr. Pitt had never the time to make mankind his study—he passed through none of the intermediate gradations and steps which Statesmen generally pass through—he was elevated at once to the highest station—it was but one step from the College to the Cabinet.—He was raised to the government of a great Empire, when all the knowledge he had of the manners, habits, passions, and prejudices of mankind, had been derived from books. Engrossed inces-

santly from his youth to his death by the duties and details of his official situation, he was forced to see mankind too much through the mist of official reports.

“ Many men possessed as intimate an acquaintance with the classics as Mr. Fox, but no man was more conversant in ancient and modern history.—He is said to have devoted some of the last years of his life to a History of the Revolution of 1688—a work which is yet wanted, and which no man was so qualified to undertake.—We fear it is left unfinished.

“ Of his temper, there is but one opinion—he had much kindness, much good-will; his social disposition and the pleasantry of his private conversation are universally acknowledged. He derived no slight advantage from the contrast which his friends drew between him and his great antagonist—there was said to be more of *humanness*, if we may coin a word, about him—he was supposed to be more alive to the pleasures of society—he was oftener seen at convivial meetings.—The excesses of Mr. Pitt’s virtues were advanced as a charge against him—a charm was endeavoured to be given even to Mr. Fox’s failings. It might, however, have been recollected, that the variety and importance of Mr. Pitt’s avocations did not permit him to unbend himself, nor allow himself those indulgences which Mr. Fox might partake of with impunity. But it is now known that Mr. Pitt’s character was mistaken; he had none of that severity and *hauteur* in private life which have been imputed to him.”

Extract from the Times of September 15, 1806.

“ WHEN men whose superior talents, genius, or knowledge have enabled them to soar above the ordinary course of human life, are struck by the arrows of fate, and sink

into the tomb, the country whom they counselled, adorned, or enlightened, naturally retraces the career which fortune had marked out for them—views it in all its stations which glory has brightened, wisdom has illumined, misfortunes have beclouded, or human frailty has deformed. Such contemplation tends to elevate, to purify, to humiliate, and to improve the mind as it distinctly reviews the chequered character, for chequered it must be of the greatest and best of men. But among those who attract the regard as they may become the pride of their country, the Statesman, as his task is the most arduous, his conduct the most public, and his actions more immediately connected with the people, is the most natural subject of general remark and consideration. He stands on a pedestal which every eye can see, and to which, at times, every eye is directed. The Hero pursues the business of war through all its hardships and its dangers; he fights and he conquers; and the people for whom he has fought and conquered, plant the laurel, beneath whose shade he may repose, when peace dismisses him to the tranquil enjoyment of his honours. The Philosopher who extends the realms of science, lives in the seclusion which is essential to his pursuits: it is true that the benefits resulting from his enquiries may be felt by all, though they may be understood but by few, while the inventor of them is seen by none. The improvement in those arts, which add so much to the embellishment of Life, is perceived only in its effects; the genius is scarcely known, and the hand is scarcely visible which administers to their novelty and varities. But the Statesman who presides over all the passing concerns of a nation—who is every moment employed in directing the complicated machine—whose powers in a greater or less degree, operate on every class of society, is a rightful object of universal discrimination. If a law is enacted, if a tax is imposed, if a regulation is made, if war is declared, or peace concluded—in short, in the suggestion, contrivance, and execution of all public measures, he is personally involved; and every one who feels, or hopes for advantage, or is sensible of, or apprehends, disadvantage, derivable from them, becomes a Judge of those Ministers from

whose councils they proceed. In a free country like our own, and where parties must necessarily prevail, the people become indeed acquainted with the characters of all political men, whether they form any part of the ministerial Administration of national affairs, or only assume that interposing activity respecting them, which the representative character not only allows but requires. Thus from the one or the other party, or rather from the collision of both, the leading public men are familiarised with the mass of the people: and while their personal similitudes are seen in every part of the kingdom, the portraits of their characters, if we may use the expression, are hung up in the minds of all its inhabitants.

“ Perhaps there never was a man with whose conduct and principles the nation at large has been so universally and so intimately acquainted, as the great man whose lamented death has suggested these observations. The superiority of his talents—their powerful and frequent adaptation to popular purposes—his representation of the populous, and, in some measure, Metropolitan City of Westminster, where he necessarily lived and acted in the bosom of his constituents—his easiness of access—his pleasant, social spirit—his friendly disposition and conciliating manners—the candour which appeared in all he said, and the good nature which predominated in all he did, were qualities which rendered him, as it were, a personal acquaintance of the country; and of all political men the best known to the people.

“ Mr. Fox was the second son of Henry, the first Lord Holland, and was born January 13, 1749. Eton was the place of his education, and while he was there he gave a promise of those talents which has been since so amply fulfilled. From thence he proceeded to Oxford, where he resigned his classic pursuits to dramatic literature. It has been said, that during his residence at Oxford he read every play in the English language. He finished his education by the usual tour through Europe; and, on his return to England, was elected into Parliament for Midhurst, a considerable time before he was of age; when he became the cham-

pion of Ministers, voted against the Middlesex Election, and the first speech he made in Parliament was against Mr. Wilkes. Those who remember him at this period, dressed in the magnificence of fashion, and often wielding in his hand the hat and feathers, which otherwise graced his arm, can with difficulty reconcile it to the late simplicity of his appearance, to the cropped head, the round hat, and the blue and buff of the present day. He certainly united in his own person talents and circumstances unparalleled in the annals of Parliament, or the varieties of State intrigue; for he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, resigned in disgust, was a second time appointed, and afterwards removed to the Treasury Board, from whence he was dismissed; and all these political vicissitudes befel him before he had completed his 25th year. It may also be added, as an unexampled circumstance in the career of politics, that, before he had attained the age of twenty-four years, he was the ablest supporter of the Minister throughout a whole Session; and, in the course of the succeeding year, one of his most powerful and dangerous opponents. His sudden removal from the Treasury Board arose from a misunderstanding between Lord North and himself, respecting the committal of a Printer, who had been brought to the Bar of the House for unjustifiable liberties taken with the character of the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton. Mr. Fox, either misunderstanding the previous instructions given him that morning by the Minister, or the Minister forgetting them, or perhaps chusing to forget them; the former insisted that the Printer should be committed to Newgate, while the latter moved that he should be committed to the Gate-house, the then Westminster prison. At length the question on Colonel Herbert's original motion being put, for committing the Printer to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, it was carried by a great majority. On this occasion, Lord North and Mr. Fox recriminated on each other. The latter said he should have carried his concerted motion, if the Minister had not deserted and betrayed him; the former as strenuously insisted that he must have prevailed, if Mr. Fox had not distracted and divided the Friends of Administration. But, be that as it may, within

two days, and while he was actually engaged in conversation with Lord North on indifferent subjects, in the House of Commons, he received the following laconic epistle:—

“ His Majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of Treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name.

NORTH.”

“ Mr. Fox now entered the lists of Opposition, and throughout the whole of the American war proved a most powerful antagonist to the Ministers of that period. On the downfall of Lord North he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, which situation he resigned on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, when the Earl of Shelburne, since created Marquis of Lansdown, was appointed to succeed him. On the dissolution of that short-lived Administration, he formed the Coalition with Lord North, and resumed his former office. He now brought in his India Bill, which, after having passed the House of Commons, was unexpectedly thrown out by the House of Lords, and occasioned the resignation of the Ministry, of which he formed a part.

“ Mr. Fox accordingly resumed his powerful station on the Bench of Opposition. The Regency, the Trial of Mr. Hastings, and above all, the French Revolution, and its relative effects to this country, gave him ample opportunity to display his talents and eloquence; both of which he continued to display against the Administrations of Mr. Pitt, with the intervention of the period when he thought proper to secede from his Parliamentary duty. The death of that Minister occasioned his recal to power. From all his former declarations, as well as what was understood to be his settled opinions, it was expected that he would propose to make peace with France; but however that may be, the present negotiation has no doubt been promoted by his previous dispositions. Whatever may be its issue, the country is indebted to his endeavours, at least, to regain and secure this invaluable blessing to it.

"It was said by Mr. Sheridan, in one of his speeches in Parliament, that it required an understanding of no common grasp, to comprehend even the extent of those talents which so pre-eminently distinguished Mr. Fox; and we are willing to subscribe to the general truth of that observation.

"Of his eloquence and debating powers, it is not easy to speak in terms that can convey an adequate idea of them. His speeches may be considered as among the finest examples of argumentation, abounding in pointed observations and just conclusions; clothed in forcible expression, and delivered with manly boldness: The leading characteristic of his oratory was a ready, and, as it were, intuitive power of analysis, which he possessed beyond any man now living; and it would not exceed the truth, perhaps, if it were added, equal to any man that has ever lived.

"As to his political conduct, we shall not attempt to enlarge upon a subject of such wide extent, of such complicated parts, and abounding in concerns of so much weight and importance. A large volume would scarce be sufficient to contain it; and to attempt to reduce it into a column, would be to disgrace the subject, and disgust the reader. To the Historian we shall leave that difficult and laborious task. To that department, alas! Mr. Fox himself is now consigned; and the writers, whose office it is to "catch the manners living as they rise," must quit a subject which death has delivered over to a superior jurisdiction.

"As to his private character, we shall not travel back to dwell upon the follies of youth, the consequences of juvenile extravagance, the eccentricities of premature genius, or the hurry of the passions when there was no one to restrain them: nor shall we condescend to ransack the heart of a great man, in order to find sentiments there which would tarnish his memory, and belie the principles that predominated through his life. No, we will turn to other qualities; to those which never fail to attract regard, and to preserve it: he possessed them in a superior degree; and he had not an enemy that will venture to contravert the assertion. In all situations and circumstances, he was dear to his friends; those who have known him longest appear to

have loved him best ; and it is a remarkable circumstance, but the fact is so,—that those who attended and wept round his death bed had been, among many others, the companions of his youth, and the friends of his whole life.

“ He possessed in a high degree the talent which distinguishes man, and the genius that elevates him ; nor was he without a portion of that virtue which is superior to them both. As Mr. Burke has observed, and when he was in intimate friendship with him, his faults, though they might tarnish the lustre, and sometimes impede the march of his abilities, were not formed to extinguish the fire of great virtues. In his faults there was no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, or ferocity, or complexional despotism, or want of feeling for the distresses of mankind.

“ In short, Mr. Fox was among the distinguished characters which nature seems to have prepared and ripened to become the ornaments of the present reign.

“ We lament that the country is deprived of such a man. He had done much towards laying the first stone of the Temple of Peace ; and much do we wish, if wishing were not the vainest of all things, that he had lived to see it rise into strength, and to promise duration, that it might have been at once his record and his tomb.”

*Extract from the Morning Herald of September
15, 1806.*

“ MR. FOX.

“ A melancholy task indeed has fallen to our lot, when we are with deep regret to state, that this great Statesman and admirable Orator is now no more. The last reports

from his Physicians were such as to prepare the public mind for this event, and yet the loss is felt with undiminished severity.

“ On the history and character of this great man it would be superfluous now to dwell. Political enmity would be ungenerous indeed if it pursued him to the grave. Every man, we are therefore to presume, will admit that in public life his talents were greatly pre-eminent, and that, in the circle of his friends, the suavity and captivation of his manners were unequalled.—It has happened but to few men to leave behind so many sorrowing friends, and his decease, at the present critical period, must be a subject of universal lamentation.

“ The general regret which took place when this event was announced in town, speaks more powerfully of the merits and claims of Mr. Fox than any language which his most able eulogist can possibly command.”

Extract from the Sun of September 15, 1806.

“ MR. FOX.

“ The event for which the expectation of the Public has long been prepared, took place on Saturday last. Mr. Fox, in the afternoon of that day, had signified that he was convinced it was not within the power of human knowledge or skill to protract his life; and he requested to be exempted from the disagreeable necessity of submitting to any thing more than his Physicians might propose. Indeed these Physicians, from the general appearance of things on Friday afternoon, had deemed it their duty to inform his relations and friends that all was over, and that his death might hourly be expected.—This awful intelligence was communicated to Mr. Fox himself, who received it with manly firmness and composure. Lord Holland, at his particular re-

quest, dispatched messengers to the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord John Townshend, and Sir Francis Vincent. He then gradually became more weak and languid, and died about five in the evening, reduced to the lowest state of debility.

“ Mr. Fox has so long made a distinguished figure on the stage of life, and has so much attracted the notice of the world, that the death of such a man is not to be classed among ordinary occurrences, and the distinction he acquired entitles his memory to particular observation. A rigid conformity to the old latin maxim, which inculcates only a favourable notice of the dead, would be absurd and useless.—Every man who has risen to importance in a State, when he is released from all human cares and duties, leaves his character as a legacy to mankind, that they may improve by his virtues, derive instruction from his knowledge, or be warned by his errors.—Indiscriminate panegyric can render no honour to the dead, nor can unmerited censure be of service to the living. A fair and impartial estimate of a distinguished Character, when he departs from this transitory scene is, therefore, what mankind have a right to expect, because it may not only be of use to the race who immediately survive him, but may extend the instruction, resulting from his example, to distant ages. Upon the present occasion we have nothing but truth in view; yet it is our anxious wish not to deliver too rigorously even what truth may direct, but to blend with its dictates the sentiments of candour.

“ Mr. Fox commenced his public career under the most favourable auspices. Nature had been liberal to him, even to profusion, in intellectual endowments, and he had all the advantages of fortune at his command. It has been justly observed, that neither our virtues nor our vices are entirely our own: The ill-judged fondness of a parent is too often the source of error in the offspring. Lord Holland, the father of Mr. Fox, was naturally partial to a son whose talents held forth so promising a hope that he would rise to the highest distinctions in the state. Hence, from the fear that curbing his son's spirit might tend to obstruct his genius, it was a rule with Lord Holland that his son Charles

should be indulged in every thing. The consequence is easily to be conceived—this unlimited permission to do as he pleased, give vigour to his passions in the same proportion as the progress of time increased the energy of his mental powers.—It would be painful to dwell on the errors of his youth, which was marked by a career of pleasure that led him into the most ruinous spirit of extravagance. He came so early into Parliament, before indeed he had reached the period limited by its regulations, that it has been said he was born in the House of Commons. He very soon made a figure in Parliament as an orator, even at a time when one of the greatest orators which the world had ever seen (the late Lord Chatham), was in the highest estimation, and when it was adorned by many other members of great oratorical powers, though their lustre was dim compared with that transcendant ornament of the British Senate. It is evident that if Mr. Fox had not suffered his political ambition to be diverted by pursuits of pleasure, he must have become one of the most conspicuous and useful props of the State. Unhappily, however, the man of pleasure and the politician were united in his character, and the former at length prevailed so much as to plunge him in dissipation and its consequent embarrassments.

“ It is in the character of an Orator that Mr. Fox is chiefly entitled to attention, and more particularly as the head of Opposition; for his judgment did not bear an exact proportion to the other powers of his mind—and it does not appear that he was as well qualified to conduct the affairs of a Country as to watch the conduct of an Administration. He displayed great capacity, force of argument, splendour of imagination, and ingenuity in debate; but through the whole of his political life, those who are capable of fairly appreciating his powers, must acknowledge, that though he could object, he could not create; and he was often so precipitate and unguarded in his opinions and declarations, as to show that it would have been rash indeed to trust the concerns of a great empire wholly to his management. It must be acknowledged also, that the principles he supported were different in different situations, and, consequently, there was

not that clear and decided judgment which forms an essential quality in the character of a great Statesman. It is impossible to forget the hasty eulogium which he passed on the French Revolution, notwithstanding all the arguments which were urged by his great rival Mr. Pitt, to the conviction of all mankind, as well as the warning voice of Mr. Burke, whose admirable work on the subject will live in the estimation of all sound Politicians and friends of humanity, when Mr. Fox will be little more than a name in the records of History. Nor does it appear that, notwithstanding all the horrors which that dreadful scourge of nations (the French Revolution) produced, and its termination in the most oppressive and disgraceful Despotism the world ever beheld, that Mr. Fox ever recanted his opinions, or at least delivered any recantation in that Assembly which witnessed his temerity. It is, then, as an Orator that Mr. Fox must be viewed, and in that light he was one of the greatest that has appeared in this Country. We need not expatiate on his talents in this respect, as the people are so well acquainted with the history of his public life. As to his private conduct, we are under no pressing obligation to render it a matter of discussion. It is sufficient to say, that he was admired for the easy pliancy of his temper; that he was always ready to do a good-natured action; and that though he was too negligent in the choice of his friends and associates, he could number among both some of the most amiable and distinguished men in the Country. The effect of parental indulgence, indeed, prevailed during the whole of his life, in public and in private, and the unbridled course of his passions in youth settled into an habitual indolence, except when animated by political exigencies, which prevented him from attaining that dignity of character which ought to have accompanied such extraordinary abilities."

Extract

Extract from the Morning Chronicle of September
15, 1806.

“ MR. FOX.

“ AT a quarter before six o'clock, on Saturday afternoon, this great and illustrious Statesman yielded his last breath in the arms of his nephew, Lord Holland, and surrounded by all the Friends who were dear to him.—His dissolution was so gradual, and accompanied by so little struggle as scarcely to permit the most anxious eye to ascertain the instant. His friends had at least the sad and melancholy consolation of perceiving that he suffered no pain—and they had been prepared for the event by the unerring symptoms of exhaustion that had increased for the two days preceding. On Friday, at noon, the Physicians announced to him the approaching close, and he received it, as he had done in the first instance, with that firm tranquillity of spirit which was characteristic of his nature, and which he maintained to the last. He was born on the 13th of January, O. S. in the year 1748. He was, therefore, in his fifty-ninth year.

“ It would be an insult to the gratitude of the Public to give a narrative of the life of Mr. Fox, for nothing can so indelibly imprint on the memory the transactions of a person's life, as the love and veneration which we bear towards him. The reverence and affection of the people of this country towards Mr. Fox were next only to the ties of consanguinity. They viewed in his services the protecting care of a parent or brother, devoting himself altogether to their interests, and making a cheerful sacrifice of his own ease to their welfare.—Every incident of his private life, therefore, as well as all the progress of his public exertions, have been treasured in the hearts of Englishmen,

and require no elucidation from Biography. It seldom happens to a Statesman that he has not a private, as well as a public history. There generally lies under the exterior of his political conduct, however apparently clear, polished and shining, the sediment of motives, that if stirred would affect, and even change the colour of the current. Not so with Mr. Fox: he was to the very bottom what he appeared upon the surface. He had no secret designs; he had no personal objects. There was no mercenary traffic carried on by him under the aspect of public duty, but in all his relations he was in heart and soul what he seemed to be, and therefore the public are in possession of his whole story. There can come forth no secret memoirs of his political intrigues. No future Bubb Doddington can supply the craving appetite of curiosity with materials for scandal, nor with hints for imputation on the sincerity of his opinions, the truth of his friendships, or the disinterested purity of all his acts. What a character for a man who, from the very opening of his life to its close, has been the most eminent character of his time!

“This has been the great source of that unparalleled popularity which has distinguished him from every other statesman. It will be a fit subject of inquiry to the moralist, by what precious and estimable qualities (for a period of the greatest conflict of parties, that ever Great Britain sustained—of the most stupendous revolutions—the most extensive temptations to apostacy—and the most splendid examples to keep it in countenance—of the most unblushing profligacy among the higher orders of society, and the most urgent necessities of the general mass of the people) Mr. Fox has been able to keep faithfully attached to his person, a steady phalanx of thinking men, such as never stood by the side even of a minister during the moment of his ascendancy. It cannot be ascribed to the extraordinary courtesies which he practised: for no man ever paid less regard than Mr. Fox to the blandishments of popularity. It cannot be owing to the promises with which he flattered their expectations; for no man was so scrupulous and reluctant on this

score as himself—Nor could it be owing to the warm, cheering, and seductive effect of the kindness with which he received the services of his adherents; for no man made less demonstration of gratitude for exertions in the common cause than Mr. Fox. To what then is the number, the constancy, the ardour of that body of friends and followers who have so long acted under his standard to be ascribed? We believe it will be attributed solely to the deep conviction implanted in their hearts of his superior wisdom and incorruptible integrity.

“ If it were required, for instance, of the writer of this article to say by what charm he was drawn, in early life, to devote his faculties, time and opportunities to the publication of the opinions of Mr. Fox, he would truly say, that entering the gallery of the House of Commons, as a mere auditor of the discussions which agitated that great body in the beginning of the American War, the impression made upon his heart by the eloquence of Mr. Fox was indelible. The wit and good humour of Lord North could not fail to entertain and please him. He was dazzled by the splendid oratory of Mr. Burke, and he has since been loud in the applause of Mr. Pitt, for masterly and musical elocution; but it was from Mr. Fox alone that the soul received the irresistible conviction of truth. It was not only that his powers of reasoning were superior to those of all other men—that he had the dexterous talent of converting the arguments of his opponents into corollaries of his own propositions—that he uniformly rose in force, closeness, rapidity, and grandeur of reply, in proportion as he appeared to evince intellect to be crushed and overwhelmed in the debate—that he never was taken unprepared—that he never encumbered his argument with flimsy decoration, and never protracted a speech for the vanity of fame—None of these merits, though he possessed them all, were the great sources of his influence over the heart—But the genuine and peculiar authority which he maintained over the affections of his auditors arose from this—that all his powers were uniformly and ardently exerted on the side of justice, and freedom, and benevolence.

“ We had in the character of his mind, in his feelings, in his expression, and in his conduct, a pregnant example of the effects of the English constitution on a frank and noble nature. In his manners, in his turn of thinking, in the discharge of all his duties, he was regulated by the maxims which that constitution had imprinted on his heart, and which, fortunately for our national happiness, has ever, to a certain extent, animated and pervaded the whole community. An abhorrence of persecution and cruelty—an interminable war with craft and baseness—an unremitting jealousy of encroachment by the powerful on the weak—and an enthusiasm on the passion of rescuing human kind from slavery of every description, mental as well as corporeal, were the foundations of his popularity in life, and upon which will be founded the superstructure of his glory hereafter. These appear to have actuated our ancestors in the forming of that beautiful scheme of order, by which, in these Islands, the due and just respect is paid, not merely to the life, but to the privileges of the subject. Mr. Fox was an Englishman of the genuine cast, and we have seen him surrounded, accompanied, and supported in a course of adversity, such as never occurred to any other leader of a party, by men of the same true national stamp as himself—by the Russels, the Cavendishes and the Howards of one House—the Plumers, the Cokes, and the Byngs of the other, with a steadiness which nothing but principle could inspire, and deference which only his superiority could command.

“ It will no doubt be a subject of curious inquiry hereafter, by what means a statesman, so eminently qualified to serve his country—so supported by the hereditary Patriots of England, as well as by the universal sense of the People, should have been only at intervals, and that for a few months at each time, called to the Councils of his Sovereign. This is a point which we shall leave to the historian to develope. But we will now presume to assert that, however vehemently opposed, vilified, and counteracted, he lived to see the truth of his opinions recognised, and that in the place where they were the most unwelcome. It was the fate of Mr. Fox, through that commanding power which

wisdom confers, to be always a twelvemonth at least *before* public opinion ; and it was constantly the misfortune of the country to have his advice adopted too late. If we were to pass the most unequivocal eulogium on the talents of Mr. Fox, it would be by a simple recapitulation, from the year 1774, of the measures which he seasonably proposed, and of the acts which were ultimately resorted to. We should refer to the well known but tardy acknowledgments of the deceased, made with all the sacredness of death-bed sincerity, as well as to the testimony of the living, for the national importance of the counsel that he gave on the first burst of that volcano which has convulsed the world, and which is not yet extinguished.—The time is not distant when every enlightened mind of every country, will admire the sagacity and patriotism of his original thoughts on this subject, as well as on the propriety of every step that he advised for our deliverance from the eruption since. —One great good, however, results from his precepts in the last most useful stage of his life, and that is, that he has, as we verily believe, communicated to all his noble and honourable Colleagues in his Majesty's confidential service, his sentiments on this important subject with the force of conviction ; and that therefore his death will make no change in the system which he began, and which is now pursued. We have no doubt even but that a public manifestation will be forthwith given of this important truth, by the choice of the distinguished person who shall succeed him, and by which his Majesty will give the most unequivocal proof of the gracious determination of his own mind.

“ We could fill a volume, instead of a column or two of this paper (to which for this day, at least, we must confine ourselves), with instances of the gentleness and magnanimity of his deportment in debate. There never was a nature so entirely free from all the malignant humours as that of Mr Fox. His forbearance was not that of disdain from a consciousness of superiority ; but in him gentleness was a quality. It gracefully mixed itself with every action of his life ; it softened the asperities of faction, conciliated the most discordant opinions, and put every one who con-

versed with him perfectly at ease. This unresisting kindness of heart, so amiable in private life, has its inconvenience to a Statesman. It sometimes made Mr. Fox too accessible to the importunities of friendship, and too ready to yield to judgments inferior to his own; but this was only in ordinary things—on the great principles of his duty, no power on earth could shake his resolution, or divert him from his path. And we may truly say that no man ever more firmly and conspicuously withstood the assaults that were made upon him than Mr. Fox. It was easy for a man so disinterested as he has always proved himself, to resist the temptations of personal aggrandizement—but to resist the eager, assiduous, persevering siege of the friends whom he loved—nay, to be obliged to separate from the connections of his youth, and from persons whom he knew to be actuated by motives as honest as his own, was a struggle which cost him many a pang, and which more than any thing else, illustrates the integrity of his convictions.

“ No man of honour and feeling, who looks back on the disastrous separation of the friends of liberty, and on the unsuccessful attempts which afterwards were made to reconcile all the parties by which the kingdom was convulsed, but must deplore the failure of the attempt. It was not the one coalition which Mr. Fox was prevailed upon to make that should be the subject of national regret, but the want of more coalitions. If Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox had at the time alluded to been brought to act together, it is most probable that the convulsions of the world would have been prevented, and that both these Statesmen would now be alive to enjoy the blessings of peace, to which they had contributed. But the die is cast—It is in vain to look back. We have now at least the consolation of knowing that all the principle, ability, rank and consideration, which remains of both the great parties are at length happily combined, and united in his Majesty's service, and we sincerely believe that the band will be indissoluble.

“ We have said that Mr. Fox never practised the common arts of popularity. Though the esteem of his fellow citizens was dear to his heart, he never could taste or esti-

mate the popularity that flowed from any other source than the result of faithful service. Provided that his own heart was satisfied of the rectitude of his conduct, he was indifferent to the constructions of the Public. The consequence was, that he took no pains as to his future fame, and was so totally inattentive in this respect, that during the most violent period of Parliamentary and popular contention, it was even unknown to him whether his sentiments were truly represented to the public or not. It follows that he has left fewer memorials of his talents than any other great speaker; and that hereafter the sheets of *The Morning Chronicle* and *Gazetteer* must be ransacked for even the hasty and imperfect sketches of his eloquence that they were enabled to give. The great work to which he applied himself during the interval of his secession from habitual attendance in the House of Commons, though not compleat, will, we trust, be given to the public. The simplicity of his style, of which we have had some valuable examples in his official papers as Foreign Minister, as well as in his memorable letter to his constituents, will afford to posterity the means of judging of the pure and unadorned manner in which he constantly delivered himself.

“Mr. Fox was avowedly the most exalted Statesman of the age in which he lived. He understood the political relations of Europe, and had made himself acquainted with the character of all its Courts more perfectly, perhaps, than any other man; but that which chiefly gave him the ascendant in diplomatic discussions, and would, in the end, have secured to his country the splendour of acknowledged superiority, was the temper, magnanimity and disinterestedness which he was desirous of introducing into all our negotiations—of discountenancing all narrow, mercenary, and selfish considerations—and of bringing back the great Powers to a just sense of the criminal errors they had committed in each seeking to convert the public confusion of the world to its own advantage. May we not cherish the hope that the few months which he has been in office, though insufficient to accomplish his beneficent purpose, may have given him the means of inculcating the

sentiment, both at home and abroad, so as to dispose them all to the happy end which he had in view! If so, his few months of office will be the brightest æra of his life."

*Extract from the York Herald of September
20, 1806.*

"MR. FOX.

"IT is with heartfelt sorrow we have to announce this Statesman is no more! He died between four and five on Saturday afternoon, at Chiswick. Medicine alone had supported life in him for some days previous to his dissolution.

"The public have to lament in Mr. Fox the loss of the ablest Statesman (along with Mr. Pitt) which this country has produced for a century. The circle of private friends was perhaps the largest and the most affectionate ever given to man, for the openness of his heart and the suavity of his manners were peculiar to himself, and endeared him every where. In the earlier parts of his life the warmth of passion, and strong powers of imagination, led him undoubtedly into those errors of character, which rendered him to the graver and moroser parts of mankind, a subject of suspicion in politics: and unquestionably he never enjoyed that confidence which monied and commercial men reposed in the late eminent Statesman, Mr. Pitt: but when the day perhaps had arrived—that day for which he had laboured so long—when his ambition was to be gratified by a situation where he was to lead the Councils of his Country—and to show that he deserved it—then Fate, as if adverse to his hopes, or Providence to shew us, how vain is the little ambition of man—doomed him to a premature dissolution."

Extract from the Kent County Herald of September 25, 1806.

“ CHARLES JAMES FOX was born on the 13th of January O. S. 1749. He was the second son of Henry the first Lord Holland, who was also the second son of Sir Stephen Fox. His mother was sister to the present [late] Duke of Richmond, and great grand daughter of Charles the Second. The late Mr. Fox may therefore be considered as having been related to the Royal Family of this country. His father perceiving in his son the beginnings of extraordinary genius, was anxious to promote his intellectual improvement, that the culture might be equal to the soil. He accustomed him to deliver his opinion on subjects of conversation; and Charles, when a boy, acquitted himself to the astonishment of all present. He was accustomed to read his father's dispatches; and, though only in the ninth year of his age, when Mr. Fox was Secretary of State, his remarks on the contents are said to have been often just. One day he told his father, that a paper, which he had just read, was too feeble, and threw it into the fire. The Secretary made out another copy, without the slightest reprimand. He was sent first to Westminster school, where he greatly distinguished himself; thence he was removed to Eton; where, being now farther advanced in years, he became still more remarkably eminent.—His literary acquirements were indeed far beyond any of those of his cotemporaries. They were not, however, the effects of habitual application, but of the occasional exercise of extraordinary genius. He displayed very uncommon readiness of apprehension, fertile and powerful invention, strength of judgment not uniformly exerted, a most capacious understanding, and retentive memory. Charles is said to have introduced gaming at Eton, and very much to have increased other excesses. He was the leader of juvenile parties for frolic, pleasure, and excess.—He was bred a Tory, and was

sent to finish his education at Oxford. Here his talents and learning created admiration and even astonishment. Although his time seemed devoted to gaming, and every other species of dissipation, he excelled all his standing in literary acquirements. He was a profound classical scholar. He read Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* with considerable ease. His favourite authors were Demosthenes and Homer. He staid but a short time at Oxford, made the tour of Europe, and though he plunged into every excess into which the pleasurable regions of the South allure Britons in the hey-day of youth, he acquired an extensive and profound knowledge of the constitution, laws, government, nature, arts and manners of the several states which he visited. In his tour he lavished such immense sums of money, that even his father threatened to return his bills. In the 20th year of his age he was returned to Parliament, and young as he was, distinguished himself among the many eminent men then in the House of Commons. At first he took the side of Administration, and was generally thought one of its ablest supporters. He had first been a Lord of the Admiralty, afterwards a Lord of the Treasury; but opposing Government, in 1774, was dismissed very abruptly from office.

"Before this time Lord Holland was dead; and he bequeathed to his son Charles a great sum of money, and a considerable estate on the Kentish Eastern Coast. He was also Clerk of the Pells in Ireland: but his estate was either mortgaged or sold: his Irish place was purchased by Mr. Jenkinson; he was turned out of office; and he was in the most distressed circumstances. Under such calamities the genius of Charles Fox rose superior to misfortunes. From that time he became a most strenuous and formidable opponent of the Minister. He had, before his quarrel with Lord North, become acquainted with Mr. Burke, then chief man of the Rockingham party in the House of Commons. Mr. Fox joined the party, and adopted the views of the Whig connections. His Parliamentary efforts, during the American war, formed a second epoch in his oratorical and political history. The misconduct of those ministers who entered into and conducted that disastrous war, afforded

an abundant scope for the display of his great talents. His severest remarks were always directed against Lord North; on whose defeat by the Rockingham party, Mr. Fox was nominated to a seat in the Cabinet, and appointed one of the Secretaries of State; but very soon after, on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Shelburne (the late Marquis of Lansdowne, who was then Secretary of State for the Home Department,) was immediately entrusted with the reins of Administration; and Mr. Fox retired from office with his friends. In the mean time, Lord Shelburne's Administration concluded a Peace with America, France, and Holland; but this Administration proved of short duration, for a grand political confederacy was soon after formed against them. This, under the name of The Coalition, soon subverted their power, and supplanted them in office. This event was made the subject of great and long continued obloquy against Mr. Fox, who was reproached by some for having united with Lord North, a man whom he had described as a monster, whom he had frequently promised to bring to the scaffold for his crimes. While others defended his conduct, on the ground of political expediency, and on the necessity of men forgetting their hostility for the benefit of mankind.

“The celebrated India Bill, introduced by Mr. Fox during his second short Administration, was another subject for which he had to encounter the censures of a large portion of the community, particularly of those who were attached to the Monarchy of the Country. We will leave it to future historians to decide on the merits of the contending parties in this great question. The Revolution which broke out in France after this gave rise to another remarkable period in the life of Mr. Fox. It produced a division of opinion, a separation, and breach of friendship between him and Mr. Burke. On this memorable occasion we have had an opportunity of observing that Mr. Fox's political sagacity was inferior to his benevolence. He cried like a child in the House of Commons the day when Mr. Burke spurned his acquaintance on account of his dangerous opinions; but so far from foreseeing (as Burke had done) the

dreadful calamities and convulsions with which the French Revolution was pregnant, he praised it as one of the most glorious events that ever adorned the annals of the world. Thus was the great Fox, who had been looked up to as the Oracle for Political wisdom, deceived, as thousands of others have been, with regard to this unprecedented event! The secession of Mr. Fox, together with his adherents, from Parliament, in 1797, was loudly censured by a great portion of the Public. It was considered by many as an act of anger and disappointment; and nothing could be advanced in justification of it. The return of Mr. Fox to his place in Parliament, and the more recent events of his public life are so fresh in the recollection of every body, that it is unnecessary to detail them. We shall barely mention, that during the short Peace in 1802, he went to Paris, and was introduced to Buonaparte, at his levee, when that Tyrant made use of the memorable observation, that there ought to be but two Countries, the East and the West, having it at the time in contemplation to place himself at the head of the latter.

“ As an Orator, Mr. Fox was assuredly the first man of his age. He simplified the most abstruse details. He analyzed the most complex arguments: he reduced the most subtle positions to the test of first principles. Animated himself, he animated others. Unambitious of melodious words and studied phrases, that dwell only on the ear, the ardour and precision of his reasoning assailed the judgment, while the irresistible thunders of his eloquence at once subdued and captivated the senses.”

Extract from the Shrewsbury Chronicle of September 25, 1806.

“ THE Right Honourable Charles James Fox was the second son of Henry Lord Holland, by Lady Georgina

Carolina, eldest daughter of Charles Duke of Richmond, and was born January 13, (O. S.) 1749. In the most early period of life he gave indications of those great powers of mind which have since placed him so high in the public estimation. He was educated at Eton, under the care of Dr. Barnard; and Dr. Newcombe, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, was his private tutor. He did not prosecute his studies with any remarkable attachment, but is said to have been distinguished for performing his exercises in a very superior style, and to have made himself conspicuous by an uncommon share of acute discernment, vivacity, and pleasantry. To the attention of his masters must be added that of his father, perhaps one of the fondest and ablest that ever existed, and who constantly treated his children as men, even in their earliest youth; introducing them into all companies, and encouraging them to deliver their sentiments on all occasions; thus at least inspiring an habitual confidence, which, under proper restrictions, is doubtless of advantage in the progress of life. Charles thus became a debater almost as soon as he could speak; and very often became as troublesome to his father by asking questions and requiring reasons as he has since been to Ministers whom he has opposed. His mind was always manly, and he possessed a firmness and resolution altogether extraordinary at that time of life; yet even then his conduct was marked by many curious eccentricities.

“From Eton he went to Oxford, where he certainly prosecuted his studies with unexampled industry; yet was equally distinguished for gaiety and vivacity as when at Eton. His vacations were constantly spent in the metropolis, and he entered pretty deeply into its dissipations; but he never failed to return to College with the most philosophic coolness. On leaving Oxford he set out on his travels; and so congenial was continental vivacity to his own disposition, that his stay was protracted to the last moment possible; and we believe his return was at last compulsory, in consequence of his father having satisfied a bill for the trifling sum of £16,000.—a debt which he had contracted at Naples.

“ Mr. Fox was now called upon to act a more interesting part on the grand stage of public life; at the general election in 1768, he was returned for Midhurst, in Sussex, and was doubtless introduced into Parliament sooner than he was by age qualified to be a member of that assembly; but the influence of his father stifled every disagreeable enquiry, and Mr. Fox began his political career with considerable lustre, in a speech of extraordinary merit for his years. It was not like the speech of a young man—there was all the quickness, the acuteness, the penetration of an old statesman, who at once could see the precise point in debate, enforce it, and at the same time expose, with a wonderful and rapid flow of eloquence, the fallacy, the weakness, and the absurdity of his opponent. But in his change of scene, Mr. Fox's fashionable propensities did not for some time forsake him; and though his senatorial conduct was unquestionably respectable, yet he has not unfrequently left the gaming house, the ball-room, or the masquerade, to attend his duty in the House of Commons, without the smallest intervention of sleep.

“ In March 1770 Mr. Fox was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1772 he became a Lord of the Treasury, which situation he continued to fill until 1774. During the time Mr. Fox held his seat at the Board of Treasury, Lord North was the ostensible Minister, whom Mr. Fox supported in all his measures except those relative to America, to which he always declared the most determined opposition; and the party which then held the reins of Government behind the curtain, fearing his power, determined to crush him. On many occasions Mr. Fox had seemed dissatisfied; but the first time that his name appeared at once in the minority, was on the Bill for shutting up the Port of Boston, March 24, 1774.

“ At the General Election in 1780, Mr. Fox was returned for Westminster, with Admiral Rodney; and in 1782 was appointed Secretary of State, on the remarkable ministerial revolution which then took place. But in this office he continued only a few months. His patron, the Marquis of Rockingham, died on the first of July following, and on

Lord Shelburne and the late Mr. Pitt coming into power to settle a peace with America, Mr. Fox retired in disgust. —The indiscretions of Mr. Fox—his vices—we wish not to disguise; but to his honour it has been observed, that on his accession to office in 1782, he at once discarded all his former improper connections, and gave up his whole time to the business of his situation; nor did he succeed less in office than in the Senate, his method of doing business, his celerity and dispatch astonished the inferiors in his department, who frankly confessed that they had no idea of such a man.

“ The limits of our paper prevent us from giving a detail of the opposition of which he was the avowed head for upwards of twenty years, and which only terminated with the death of his great and successful rival in the Cabinet and the Senate. His conduct during the short time he has since been in power is too fresh in the memory of our readers to require any recapitulation or comment.”

Extract from the Liverpool Chronicle of September 24, 1806.

“ IT was intended that the remains of Mr. Fox should be privately interred in the family vault in Wiltshire, but a request was made to Lord Holland by a number of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom, that the remains of their deceased friend should be deposited in Westminster Abbey, that they might have an opportunity of attending the procession—Lord Holland acquiesced. The body was therefore removed to the Stable-yard on Thursday evening, where it arrived about eleven o'clock, and from thence will be carried in procession to Westminster Abbey; but the ceremony will be conducted with a simplicity suited to the unostentatious character of Mr. Fox. It is intended the remains of Mr. Fox should be interred in Westminster Ab-

bey, on Tuesday the 7th of October next, and that the funeral shall proceed from his house, in the Stable-yard, St. James's. The funeral will be what is called a *private* one; but we venture to predict, that if *publicity* depend upon the most numerous attendance, both with respect to rank, character, and individual attachment and attention, it will be the most public this country has ever witnessed.

"The death of Mr. Fox is one of those events in which the whole human race seem interested, as he was placed on an eminence from which he was conspicuous to all the world; these Islands, however, have peculiar cause to mourn his removal at a time when he was negotiating for that peace which they have so long and so unavailingly desired. But, profound as our grief is, and deeply as our sensibility is wounded, we must say, we were never of the number of those who imagined that the ruin or the salvation of the country depended on Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, or any other man, however elevated by rank, or distinguished by talents—but under Providence, on the public spirit of the people themselves. Of this opinion we remain, and much as we wished for the life, and deeply as we deplore the death of this transcendantly great man, we fear not for our country! Those on whose conduct her welfare depends still live, and will continue to live so long as the waves shall encircle her shores.—Kings, Heroes, and Statesmen—Edwards, Henries, Marlboroughs, Nelsons, Pitts, and Foxes—from time to time arise, flourish, and disappear—*the People never die!* Then let them know their own dignity—let them depend on their own virtue—let them endeavour, let them deserve, to be free and invincible—and till their sea can be dried up, and their rocks crumbled, they shall never be conquered or enslaved. Of Mr. Fox we forbear at present to say more, than to quote the following noble lines, which were written several years ago in honour of his talents and character, but now, alas! apply far more emphatically to both than they did even when they were first published:—

‘ If there exist a man design’d by Heaven,
To cheer with wisdom a benighted land,

Tho' foul detraction scowl upon his fame,
 Tho' the deaf adder scorns the charmer's song,
 Yet shall he feel within a still small voice
 Breathe an approving blessing on his toil ;
 And, when the grave inurns him, time shall speak him
 Wise in the manliness of ancient days,
 Simple in manners as the guileless child.
 His counsels late posterity shall hear,
 And weep at their neglect. His tomb shall stand
 Rais'd on the shore of some wave-girded Isle,
 The ' Sea-mark ' of a nation.'

" Undoubtedly the United Kingdom has, in Mr. Fox, lost more than any other nation ever had to lose ; and in vain would we endeavour to soothe the sorrows of our countrymen on this most mournful occasion.—To speak of his talents or his virtues, of his admirable or his amiable qualities, would make the wounded heart bleed afresh ; and yet this is the only means of relief now left us—but what pen can trace his brilliant career for nearly forty years in Parliament? His indefatigable exertions on that great theatre are far above our praise ; but we are happy to record what he himself approved of most—" It is with heartfelt satisfaction," said Mr. Fox, in the ardor of debate a few years since, " It is with heartfelt satisfaction I reflect, that, in every thing I ever proposed, *I have supported the dignity of this country.* I regard it as a circumstance of good fortune to me, that *I never gave an opinion by which one drop of British blood was shed, or any of its Treasure squandered!!!*" —May this truly noble sentiment never be forgotten in the British Senate.

" SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
 " THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX,
 " SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

If bright renown, if ancestry, or power,
 Grandeur or wealth could stay one circling hour ;

Or learning, wit, or elocution, save
 Th' august possessor from the silent grave;
 This mighty Statesman, long a nation's pride,
 Much prais'd, and justly valued, ne'er had died.—
 For, reader, in his nature were combin'd
 A soul exalted—an enlighten'd mind—
 A heart in friendships and affections warm,
 And talents that e'en apathy might charm :
 Nay, on his eloquence persuasion hung,
 ' And truths received came mended from his tongue,'
 While all in private life that men hold dear,
 And all in public stations they revere—
 Manners refin'd, and taste, and knowledge great,
 The love of FREEDOM and OPPRESSION's hate ;
 In Senates with a Patriot's fire to glow,
 The will to foster worth and succour woe ;
 These, with a god-like zeal rude war to cease,
 And bless his country with the joys of Peace,
 To Fox belonged—but envious that his name,
 On earth, should be immortalized by Fame,
 Proud Death, in triumph, bore his peerless prize,
 To happier regions far beyond the skies."

Extract from the Tyne Mercury of September
30, and October 7, 1806.

" ALL the great men of the present day are either the
 offspring of, or immediately descended from, new families.
 The ancient nobility repose under the laurels of their an-
 cestors. Not deigning to apply to any of the learned pro-
 fessions, and deeming commerce and agriculture unworthy
 of their pursuit (a few illustrious characters excepted) they
 delegate their domestic concerns to the care of the upper

servants, and not unfrequently the business of the nation is entrusted to their proxies. This, perhaps, will be the best apology for the multitude of plebeian scions recently engrafted on the stock of ancient aristocracy; and, although it may puzzle Garter, Norroy, and Clarencieux to find them either arms or ancestors, certain it is, that the *life-blood* of nobility has been infused into the peerage through the conduit of democracy.

“ It may also be necessary to preface this article with another observation, of which some of the most conspicuous characters of the present political drama, afford more than one pregnant instance: that the younger sons of our nobility are more successful in their political efforts, than the elder. Lord Orford, better known by the name of Horace Walpole, observes, that “ William Pitt, (Lord Chatham,) was a second son, and became prime minister of England. His rival and antagonist was Henry Fox, (Lord Holland,) a second son likewise. Lord Holland’s second son, Charles Fox, and Lord Chatham’s second son, William Pitt, were also rivals and antagonists.” This may easily be accounted for; the heir to a great fortune, and an illustrious title, knows not how soon both may devolve upon him; and when that event takes place, to what further object can his expectations point? He finds that he has been born a legislator, and that a large fortune is entailed upon his person; here, then, are wealth and honours not only within his grasp, but actually in his possession. It is otherwise with the junior branches, for they have in general but little in possession, and every thing to look for; they inherit all the exquisite relish for pleasure that their seniors enjoy to satiety, and are only deficient in the means of gratification. Like the dove of Noah, they scarcely find a resting place for the soles of their feet, on *their own* earth; and they are exactly in the situation of an invading general who has burnt his ships, for they must go on, or perish.

“ Charles James Fox was the younger son of Henry, who was himself a younger son of Sir Stephen Fox, celebrated less for his own birth, than the circumstance of being a father at the age of eighty, an event not incredible, however, and

rendered, in the present instance, unsuspicious, by the decorous conduct, and acknowledged virtue of the partner of his bed. Henry entered early into public life; and such was his address in parliament, during the reign of George II. that he soon attained not only some of the most arduous and honourable, but also of the most lucrative situations in the gift of the crown; for, in the year 1754, he was appointed Secretary at War; then Secretary of State for the Southern Department; and, after being *ousted* by the great Mr. Pitt, less celebrated under the name of Earl of Chatham, we find him filling the immensely beneficial office of Paymaster General of the Forces, accumulating great wealth, and thereby incurring the animadversions of the first city of the empire. Such, indeed, was his consequence, that at a time when patents of peerage were not very common, he was ennobled by his present Majesty, in 1763, by the title of Baron Holland of Foxley.

“ His son, Charles James, was born January 13th, 1749, and if on his father’s side he classed among the *novi homines*, by his mother’s, his descent must be allowed to be illustrious; for Lady Georgina Carolina Lenox was the daughter of the late Duke of Richmond; and, as such, in addition to that of the King of Sardinia, she was allied to the two rival, but related families, which had so long contested for the throne of Great Britain—those of Brunswick and Stuart.

“ But it is not to such claims as these that the future historian will have recourse; he will dwell with ardour on the early promise of genius, the precocious talents of the boy, the matured wisdom of the philosopher and the statesman; and while the abilities and virtues that adorn the character of his hero bring him forward on the canvas, these inefficient and involuntary pretensions will be cast into the shade, and scarcely be distinguished in the back ground.

“ This second son proved Lord Holland’s favourite child, and at length became the darling of his old age. Perceiving in him the seeds of all the admirable qualities that constitute greatness, he was at infinite pains to give scope to his intellectual vigour, to expand the shoots, and disclose the blossoms of so promising a plant. From his earliest infancy he

intended him for parliamentary business, and by conversing always with him as if he had been a man, he actually made him one before the usual time. Lord Holland is said to have submitted his dispatches to the perusal of his favourite boy; and, on one occasion, is actually reported to have complied with the alterations he suggested.

"This country beheld, in the persons of two rival orators, two wonderful instances of statesmen, retiring, at different times, from the field of contention, and devoting the remainder of their lives to the education of their two younger sons, with whom they were accustomed to consult about public affairs, and sometimes to place on a table, in order to hear them declaim. Occupied during the early part of their days in hostilities against each other, the enmity of the families seems to have become hereditary, for it is kept up by their children, who still maintain a rivalry, even after they have abjured the principles of their respective sires.

"In compliance with the future destination of his son, Lord Holland preferred a public to a private education, and accordingly sent Charles to Westminster school. After distinguishing himself there, he removed to Eton, where Dr. Bernard, the late provost, found him not only uncommonly eager after amusements, but eminently successful in classical attainments. His private tutor, while a member of this celebrated institution, was Dr. Newcombe, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, and now [late] Archbishop of Armagh, who, while he was frequently vexed at the dissipation of his pupil, had occasion, at the same time, to be highly gratified with his progress. Here he formed his early friendship with the Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Carlisle, his own relation the Duke of Leinster, and some of the first men of the age.

"His father being, in the uncourtly language of those days, 'a rank Tory,' Charles was sent to finish his education at Oxford, where he is reported, in imitation of Penelope, to have regained, by his daily toils, the labours lost during his nocturnal aberrations.

"At length he began to pant after a more unrestrained intercourse with society, and consequently to be disgusted with the restraints, and tired with the uniformity of a college

life. The most easy, as well as the most likely way to rid himself of this, was to evince an ardent desire to see the world; and as his studies were now completed, his father, as usual, indulged the wishes of his darling son. Those who have been accustomed to see Mr. Fox of late years, without being acquainted with the minute particulars of his early life, will scarcely believe, that at this period he was one of the greatest *beaus* in England; that he indulged in all the fashionable elegance of attire, and vied, in point of *red-heels* and *Paris-cut-velvet*, with the most shewy men of the times. These, and similar qualifications, were displayed in most of the courts of Europe, in the course of the grand tour; and if he did not return like his maternal ancestor, (Charles II.) with all the vices of the continent, he at least brought a wardrobe replete with all its fashions. Nor will a strict regard to historical truth permit the omission of more culpable transgressions, for he is said, amidst the ardour and impetuosity of youth, to have expended, or rather lavished, vast sums of money in play, and to have contracted immense debts. Dr. Bisset, in his life of Burke asserts, that his father, Lord Holland, who accompanied him to Spa, first excited an itch for play in his youthful mind, by allowing him five guineas a night to be spent in games of hazard. Let it be recollected, however, that he was, at this very time, between two and three years short of that period, when the law declared him to be no longer a minor.

“ His enemies have carefully reminded us, that the first political act of his life was a violation of the jurisprudence of his native country; for at the general election, in 1768, he took his seat for Midhurst, in Sussex, a borough under the influence of his family, when he was only nineteen years of age, and consequently ineligible. It is with pain too, and here reluctantly recorded, that the first effort of his eloquence was hostile to liberty. His first speech was in opposition to Mr. Wilkes, then confined in the King's Bench; and whatever the *motives* of that gentleman might be, dispassionate men will now be ready to avow, that on this occasion, his cause was not only popular, but just. But, besides his extreme youth, the bent of his education, the prejudices

of his family, and the wishes of a fond father, ought all to be taken into consideration, and if a complete vindication does not ensue, a liberal and ingenuous mind will not be at a loss for an apology.

“ During all the proceedings of the House of Commons, relative to the Middlesex election, Mr. F. stood forward as the champion of the Ministry, and exhibited no common address and activity on the occasion. From the first moment of his entering the Senate, he, indeed, displayed all the qualities of an accomplished orator; and Lord North, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, deemed his merits so considerable, that, in the beginning of 1772, he nominated him to a seat at the Admiralty board, and in the latter part of the same year made him, in some measure, a partner with himself, in the management of the empire, by appointing him a Lord of the Treasury.

“ Amidst this seeming devotion to the court, there were not wanting opportunities when he shook off the trammels of dependence, and allowed his manly mind to take its full scope. Not the least memorable of these occurred during the debate on the bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Meredith, to give relief from subscription to the xxxix Articles of the Church of England; and in the liberal sentiments delivered on that occasion, Mr. Fox firmly and uniformly persevered,

“ But the time had now arrived, when a new direction was to be given to his pursuits. The real cause of this event, which involved so many important consequences, can only be guessed at. The sons of the Lords Guilford and Holland, were both possessed of talents; the one, perhaps, aspired to, the other enjoyed, the supreme command; and, like two great men of antiquity, the first could not brook a superior, nor the second a rival. The enmity of the premier was developed in the refusal of a petty appointment; it increased on the memorable examination of the Rev. Mr. Horne, now John H. Tooke, at the bar of the House of Commons; and finally became public in consequence of a billet [of dismissal] couched in terms of Spartan brevity.

“ Considering this not merely as an injury, but an in-

sult, the enmity of Mr. Fox from that moment became public, and he at length raised such a constitutional opposition to the administration of the noble lord, who had thus treated him in a manner bordering on contempt, that he, in the end, subverted his power, and dragged his antagonist to the very edge of the scaffold.

"In the mean time Lord Holland died, leaving a large sum of money, and considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Kingsgate, with the house there, built in imitation of Tully's Formian villa, on the coast of Baiæ, to his son Charles. He was thus in possession of a plentiful fortune; and had he retained it, would have stood upon high ground in point of consequence: for these bequests, in addition to the Clerkship of the Pells, in Ireland, soon after sold to Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Liverpool, must have produced a nett income of more than £4000 per annum.

"After the dissipation of this large property, a common mind would, perhaps, have bent under the calamity; his, on the contrary, seemed to have rebounded from the fall; and instead of sinking into despair, to have actually soared into celebrity, and even independence.

"A new and noble field now opened to his ambition; and he commenced his career as a patriot, on principles which Locke has upheld, and Sydney would not have blushed to support.

"The members of that administration (supposed by some to be only the puppets of a northern peer) had rendered themselves detested by the oppression of Mr. Wilkes, the prosecution of the printers, the countenance given to the riots of Brentford, and the military execution in St. George's-fields.

"Another event of infinitely greater magnitude, now filled up the bitter draught of popular odium; and the previous oppression, and threatened subjugation of America, aroused a general spirit of resistance within the mother country, and pointed the finger of public vengeance at the devoted head of the premier. Fortunately for Mr. Fox's consistency, his conduct respecting the transatlantic contest was strictly uniform; and on this, as on a subsequent occa-

sion, he saw afar off, anticipated the impending calamities, and predicted the accumulation of misfortunes, which afterwards nearly overwhelmed the nation.

“ Accordingly, in 1774, he opposed the introduction of the Boston Port Bill, and apologized for the conduct of the colonies. In his speech, on this occasion, he arraigned the measures of the minister in bold and energetic language; and explained the principles of the violated constitution, with a masculine eloquence worthy of the cause. The treasury-bench now began, for the first time, to calculate the loss it had sustained, the opposition to estimate the strength it had acquired; while the people rejoiced to behold, in the person of a youthful senator, whom they had been taught to consider as an enemy, a firm, an intrepid, and an eloquent advocate, such as would not have disgraced Rome in her best days.

“ He now sat on the same seat with a Saville, a Barre, a Dunning, and a Burke, with the last of whom he had frequently broken a lance, in the war of argument, from the opposite side of the house; and he has since candidly avowed, that from this celebrated man he first imbibed those enlightened maxims of government, professed and acted upon by the pupil, alas! when the master himself seemed to have abandoned them.

“ On the discussion of Mr. Burke’s conciliatory propositions in 1775, Mr. Fox strenuously supported the liberal schemes of policy pointed out by that gentleman; and spoke and voted, during the whole contest, in direct opposition to a criminal system, which, as it had been fondly and fallaciously prognosticated, was to produce the unconditional submission of the colonies, and lay them prostrate at the feet of the mother-country!

“ At length all the evils that had been foreseen were realized. America, driven to despair, declared herself independent; monarchical France exerted her protecting arm across the Atlantic; the capture of Burgoyne and Cornwallis proclaimed the triumphs of liberty; and a new conflagration lighted up in Europe, by the fire-brands that had been scattered, by the British ministry in another hemis-

phere, wasted the strength and exhausted the resources of England.

“At the general election, in 1780, the family borough of Midhurst falling into other hands, and Mr. Fox spurning, perhaps, at the idea of violating the very spirit and essence of a constitution which he now began, for the first time, to contemplate and venerate, determined to become a candidate for the city of Westminster, where he at length succeeded, after a violent contest, in which he baffled not only the interest of the Newcastle family, but also all the influence of the crown, both of which were powerfully, but unsuccessfully, exerted against him. Being now the representative, not of a petty venal borough, but of a great city, and that also without any expence to himself, he appeared in Parliament in a more dignified capacity, and acquired a considerable increase of weight and consequence.

“Soon after this the ministry began to totter, and a few political *rats* were in motion, in order to desert the falling fabric. A minority, at first contemptible in point of numbers, but always formidable in respect to integrity and abilities, and which then claimed the late premier (Mr. Pitt) amongst the most zealous of its partizans, had increased in power and popularity. The ministry were assailed within by the thunders of eloquence, and without, they were overwhelmed by the clamours of an indignant people: to proceed in the war was ruinous, and to recede, betrayed them in personal danger. At length “the noble lord in the blue ribbon,” (as Lord North had been generally called,) was hunted into the toils; and it was hoped, by many, that public justice awaited his misdeeds: for in a contest in which torrents of blood had unjustly flowed, some one must have been criminal, and who more proper for an expiatory sacrifice, than the ostensible author of so many calamities? Alas! had punishment been but inflicted on one solitary individual, all our subsequent calamities would have been averted, and the world taught to believe, that even in respect to *great offenders*, some connexion still existed between guilt and punishment!

" But the Rockingham party contented themselves with the defeat of their opponents; and Mr. Fox was nominated to a seat in the cabinet, and appointed one of the Secretaries of State. The merit of this short-lived administration was conspicuous. Notwithstanding they had succeeded to an empty exchequer, and a general war, they yet determined to free the people from some of their numerous grievances; and had they remained a little longer in power, infinitely more would have been effected. Contractors were excluded, by Act of Parliament, from the House of Commons; custom and excise officers were disqualified from voting at elections; the proceedings, with regard to the Middlesex election, were rescinded; while a reform bill, (rather specious, however, in name, than reality) abolished a number of useless offices. A more generous policy was also adopted in respect to Ireland; a general peace was already meditated; an ancient ally (the Dutch) was attempted to be soothed by an offer through the medium of M. Simolin, the Russian minister, to form a new treaty, on the basis of that of 1764; and America, which could not be restored, was at least intended to be conciliated.

" In the midst of these promising appearances, the nobleman who was the key-stone that supported the discordant materials of the political arch, died suddenly, and the council-board was instantly divided by political schisms.

" The Marquis of Lansdowne, who appears, at this time to have had the ear of the king, but not a majority in the cabinet, was immediately intrusted with the reins of administration; and Mr. Fox determining (to make use of his own language) "never to connive at plans in private which he could not publicly and consistently avow," retired from office with a numerous and respectable body of his friends.

" In the mean time, the party left in possession of all the great offices, concluded a peace with America, France, and Holland; but their administration proved of short duration; for a grand political confederacy had now been formed against them. This, under the name of 'the Coalition,' soon subverted their power, and supplanted them in

office. No event, in our time, has produced more obloquy than the alliance between Mr. Fox and Lord North; and it is not to be concealed, that it was even then pregnant with inauspicious results, and has since been productive of the most sinister consequences, as it enabled an ambitious young man to give the first stab to the constitution, by setting a vote of the House of Commons, hitherto deemed inviolable, at defiance. The 'India Bill,' of which Mr. Burke is said to have been the penman, proved the rock on which the vessel of the ill-paired colleagues foundered; and it is not a little memorable, that their more fortunate rivals revived this very measure, and carried it triumphantly through parliament!

"We now behold Mr. Fox once more divested of power, reduced on a sudden dissolution of parliament, to shelter himself against accidents in the representation of the Orkney Isles; and to contend with an unexampled perseverance for a seat as member for Westminster; which, after a memorable scrutiny, and an immense expenditure, supported by the great aristocratical families in his interest, he at length obtained.

"He was afterwards re-elected to the same honourable post, and he steadily combated, as a representative of the people, the influence of the crown;—that influence which, in his opinion, alone constituted and produced all their grievances. His subsequent conduct was such as to restore the current of popularity, and raise his name higher than before. His grand maxim, and surely it is immediately connected with the prosperity, and, perhaps, the existence, of a manufacturing and commercial country, was the maintenance of peace. With this object in view, he opposed a contest with Russia, about the fortress of Oczakow; and a conflict with Spain concerning the peltry of Nootka Sound.

"During the first stages of that melancholy event which led to the Regency Bill, Mr. Fox was wandering through the delightful regions of modern Italy, and seemed enchanted once more to tread on classic land. From this charming spot, he was called to witness, and to participate

in, far different scenes, and finally to behold the party he opposed more firmly seated in power than before.

“He has been blamed for his conduct during the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, but he was supported by a majority of the House of Commons on that occasion, and by nearly all his political enemies. This measure was absolutely necessary, in order to clear the honour of the nation, and prove to the oppressed inhabitants of India, that in England they would still find avengers. It is not to be denied, however, that the trial was spun out to a most oppressive length, and that the supposed culprit at last ceased to be odious in the eyes of the people. The forms of the House of Peers, as a court of justice, are, indeed, unfavourable to the dispatch of business, but the managers ought, perhaps, either to have accelerated these, or to have withdrawn from a struggle, when they perceived that the first step towards punishment consisted in the oppression of even a guilty individual!

“No sooner did the French nation evince a sincere desire to shake off the dominion of absolute power, than Mr. Fox hailed the auspicious dawn of rising liberty, and deprecated the interference of this country in a quarrel hostile to the principles on which she had founded her proud pre-eminence. On this occasion, he experienced the derilection of many of his former associates, and among others of that man from whose lips he had first imbibed the principles of freedom. Finding, however, that he and his friends were reduced to a scanty minority, he retired, in a great measure, from public business, and left the minister to triumph by means of the majorities in his interest. Nor is this all, for his name was struck out from the list of privy counsellors; an event which never occurred before in the present reign, and was only once exercised during the last, in respect to a nobleman (Lord George Germaine) accused of cowardice and disaffection.

“The return of Mr. Fox to his seat in Parliament, and the more recent events of his public life, are so fresh in the recollection of every person, that it is unnecessary to detail them. We shall barely mention, that after the death

of Mr. Pitt, in January, 1806, a change of Ministry took place, by which he was again called to power, and filled the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs till the period of his death. Every eye was now directed towards him, and every mind anticipated the good effects of the measures that they fondly hoped would have been adopted. But, alas! how frail is man, how weak his reasoning. The first public acts of Mr. Fox were not of that nature to inspire public confidence, for in the person of Lord Grenville he united the two offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Auditor of the Exchequer; and Lord Ellenborough, while filling the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench was invited to a seat in the Cabinet. These two acts lost Mr. Fox a good deal of his popularity, as they were deemed unconstitutional, and pregnant with the worst of evils. After this, however, he brought forward a motion for the abolition of the Slave Trade, when the House pledged itself to consider of the best means of abolishing it, and a vote of censure on the traffic was entered on its journals. He also did much towards laying the first stone of the Temple of Peace, but was not permitted to see the stately fabric completed.

“Struggling continually against the stream of power, he appeared inferior to no man; and he wanted only to stand on the ‘vantage ground’ of success, to be viewed as the greatest statesman of his age.

“As an author, he has produced several specimens of poetical composition, which, with due culture, might have attained excellence. His verses to Mrs. Crewe have often been praised:

‘Where the loveliest expression to features is join’d,
 ‘By nature’s most delicate pencil design’d;
 ‘Where blushes unbidden, and smiles without art,
 ‘Speak the softness and feeling that dwell in the heart,
 &c.’

“His invocation ‘to Poverty’ must, however, be allowed to be superior, although it contains a national reflection that may offend some; it ought, notwithstanding,

to be recollected, that the English, at that period, were much disgusted with the temporising conduct of their northern neighbours :—

‘ O Poverty! of pale consumptive hue,
 ‘ If thou delight’st to haunt me still in view,
 ‘ If still thy presence must my steps attend,
 ‘ At least continue, as thou art, my friend.
 ‘ When Scotch example bids me be unjust,
 ‘ False to my word, unfaithful to my trust,
 ‘ Bid me the baneful error quickly see,
 ‘ And shun the world to find repose with thee.
 ‘ When vice to wealth would turn my partial eye,
 ‘ Or int’rest shutting ear to sorrow’s cry;
 ‘ Or courtiers’ custom would my reason bend,
 ‘ My foe to flatter, or desert my friend;
 ‘ Oppose, kind Poverty, thy temper’d shield,
 ‘ And bear me off unvanquish’d from the field.
 ‘ If giddy Fortune e’er return again,
 ‘ With all her idle, restless, wanton train;
 ‘ Her magic glass should false ambition hold,
 ‘ Or Av’rice bid me put my trust in gold;
 ‘ To my relief, then, virtuous goddess haste,
 ‘ And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaste,
 ‘ Health! Liberty! and Wisdom! sisters bright,
 ‘ Whose charms can make the worst condition light,
 ‘ Beneath the hardest fate the mind can cheer,
 ‘ Can heal affliction and disarm despair;
 ‘ In chains, in torments, pleasure can bequeath,
 ‘ And dress in smiles the tyrant hour of death.’

“ The letter, published in 1793, “ To the worthy and independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster,” is his only avowed prose publication, and this has experienced a nearly unexampled sale, having run through twelve or thirteen large editions. On this occasion, he makes a manly appeal to his constituents; and, in a clear and energetic style, deprecates the idea of foreign alliances, and insists on the necessity of acknowledging the French Republic as an independent state. While alluding to the

ridiculous project of subjugating that power by external force, he expresses himself thus:—

“ The conquest of France!!! O! calumniated Crusaders, how rational and moderate were your projects! O! much-injured Lewis XIV. upon what slight grounds have you been accused of restless and inordinate ambition! O! tame and feeble Cervantes, with what a timid pencil and faint colours have you painted the portrait of a disordered imagination!”

“ The following character of this great and pre-eminently gifted man is by that profound political philosopher and transcendant genius, the late Right Hon. Edmund Burke. It formed the peroration of his very celebrated speech on the occasion of the second reading of Mr. Fox’s East India Bill, in the House of Commons, in Nov. 1783. —It exhibits, perhaps, the most beautiful and affecting specimen of panegyrical eloquence that ever appeared in any language.

“ And now,” said Mr. Burke, “ having done my duty to the bill, let me say a word of the author.—I should leave him to his own noble sentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated, beyond all example of parliamentary licence, did not make a few words necessary; not so much in justice to him, as to my own feelings. I must say, then, that it will be a distinction honourable to the age, that the rescuing of the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed, from the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised, has fallen to the lot of abilities and dispositions equal to the task. It has fallen to the lot of one, who has the enlargement to comprehend, the spirit to undertake, and the eloquence to support, so great a measure of hazardous benevolence! *His* spirit is not owing to his ignorance of men and things. He well knows what snares are spread about his path, from personal animosity; from court intrigues, and possibly from popular delusion! But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never seen! This is the road that all true heroes have trod

before him. He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory. He will remember, that it was not only in the Roman customs, but is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph! These thoughts will support a mind that exists only for honour, under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good, such as rarely falls to the lot, and almost as rarely coincides with the desires, of any man. Let him use his time—let him give the whole length to the reins of his benevolence. He is now upon a great eminence, whither the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long; he may do much. But here is the summit—He never can exceed what he does this day.

“He has vices, but they are vices, which, though they may, in a small degree, tarnish the lustre, and sometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguish the fire of GREAT VIRTUES. In those vices, there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional despotism, or want of feeling for the distresses of mankind. His vices are such as might be found to exist in a descendant of Henry IV. of France; as they did exist in that great father of his country! Henry IV. wished “that he might live to see a fowl in the pot of every peasant in his kingdom.” That sentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the splendid sayings that are recorded of kings. But he wished for, perhaps, more than could be obtained, and the goodness of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a subject, may this day say at least with truth, that he secures the rice in his pot to every man in India.

“A poet of antiquity, thought it one of the first distinctions, to a Prince whom he meant to celebrate, that through a long succession of generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who, by the force of the arts of peace, had corrected governments of oppression, and suppressed wars of rapine.

- ' Indole proh quanta juvenis, quantumque daturus
- ' Ausoniæ populis, ventura in secula civem.
- ' Ille super Gangem, super exauditos et Indos,
- ' Implebat terras vocæ; et furialia bella
- ' Fulmine compescet linguæ.'

"This was what was said of the predecessor of the only person to whose eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the Ganges and the Indus are the patrimony of the fame of my Honourable Friend, and not of Cicero. I confess I anticipate, with joy, the reward of those whose whole consequence, power, and authority, exist only for the benefit of mankind; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and descriptions that, relieved by this bill, will bless the labours of this Parliament, and the confidence which the best House of Commons has given to him who the best deserves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard where freedom and happiness are felt; there is not a tongue, a nation, or religion, in India, which will not bless the presiding care and manly beneficence of this House, and of him who proposes to you this great work; your names will never be separated before the throne of the Divine Goodness, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is asked for sin, and reward for those who imitate the Godhead in his universal bounty to his creatures. These honours you deserve, and they will surely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, of party, and of patronage, are swept into oblivion!"

"Of the private life of this great orator, the public may be anxious to know a few authentic particulars. Mr. Fox having in 1799 disposed of his house in South-street, he no longer resided any part of the year in town; when he visited London, which was but seldom, he stayed sometimes at the house of his old friend General Fitzpatrick, and sometimes at a hotel in the neighbourhood of New Bond-street. Except during the shooting season, when he visited Mr. Coke, &c. in Norfolk, he lived chiefly at St. Ann's Hill, near Chertsey. There he superintended the cultivation of

his grounds, enjoyed the pleasures of horticulture, and amused himself in forming his shrubberies. To 'the rose,' the theme of the Persian poets, he seemed particularly attached; for he had a parterre near his house, in which there were no less than thirty different species of this beautiful shrub. He also possessed a great taste for Botany, and was at infinite pains to render himself master of the Linnæan system.

"In general, he rose about seven o'clock, mounted his horse instantly, rode to the river, and plunged into the Thames. He then returned to breakfast, which was over before ten. The forenoon was, for the most part, dedicated to his books, and was accordingly spent in study. Before dinner, he took a walk or ride around the neighbouring village, sat down to table a little after three o'clock, and lived well, and like a gentleman, without any appearance, however, of luxury or ostentation. After indulging in a few glasses of port or sherry, he retired with his guests about six to the tea-room, which presented a most delightful prospect in the summer season; and after a couple of dishes of coffee, a glass of *liqueur de Martinique* was handed round to the company.

"The evenings were usually dedicated to domestic entertainments. Oftimes he read, and then generally aloud; at other times he played at some manly game on the lawn, or listened to the music of a favourite lady while fingering the piano-forte, or the pedal harp. The evening was not unfrequently spent at the HOLLAND, a charming octagon building, dedicated and inscribed to his nephew, Henry Lord Holland. From this building is to be seen a most luxuriant view of the surrounding country; but the eye is unwilling to roam abroad, as it is ornamented with beautiful paintings by the skilful hand of Mrs. Armstead.

"While the hirelings of ministry were representing him as 'plotting against the state,' he was, most probably, perusing Homer in the original language of the immortal bard; or the 'conspirator' was, perhaps, dandling a child in his arms, or peradventure if it were in the summer season, playing at trap-ball on the grass!

"In an early part of Mr. Fox's life it would appear that this great man was inspired with that passion, from which at one time or other of life no man is exempt—by a lady of great beauty, and the most elegant accomplishments—but, at the time of his first knowing her, the wife of his particular friend—whom, since his elevation to ministerial power, he has raised to the dignity of the Peerage—we allude to Lord Crewe. His ode in the Alexandrian measure, which he addressed to her, is one of the most beautiful compositions in the language. We extract the following lines, of pre-eminent force and beauty:—

* * * * *

' My wishes, which never were bounded before,
 ' Are here bounded by Friendship; I ask for no more!
 ' Is't Reason? No, that my whole life will deny,
 ' For who so at variance as Reason and I?
 ' Is't Ambition that fills up each chink of my heart,
 ' Nor allows any softer sensation a part?
 ' O no! for in this all the world will agree,
 ' One folly was never sufficient for me!
 ' Is my mind in distress, too intensely employ'd,
 ' Or by pleasures relax'd, by variety cloy'd?
 ' For alike in this only, enjoyment and pain,
 ' Both slacken the springs of these nerves which they
 strain!
 ' That I've felt each reverse that from Fortune can flow,
 ' That I've tasted each bliss that the happiest know—
 ' Has still been the whimsical state of my life,
 ' Where Anguish and Joy have been ever at strife;
 ' But tho' vers'd in th' extremes both of Pleasure and
 Pain,
 ' I'm still but too ready to feel them again!"

"To the Lady to whom Mr. Fox was married, he was long and sincerely attached. They were married a short time previously to his much talked-of tour to the metropolis of France, during the interval of the short-lived peace, or rather armed truce, of Amiens. The ceremony was pri-

vate, by special licence, and performed by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. St. John.

“As a proof of the well-established, and at the same time delicate attachment which Mr. Fox had long cherished, he presented her, while at the breakfast table, on the morning of the 24th of January, 1799, being the anniversary of his birth, and the completion of his 50th year, with the following elegant and affecting lines, extemporaneously produced:—

‘Of years I have now half a century past,
 ‘And none of the fifty so blest as the last:
 ‘How it happens my troubles thus daily should cease,
 ‘And my happiness thus with my years should increase,
 ‘This defiance of Nature’s more general laws,
 ‘You alone can explain, who alone are the cause!’

“In person Mr. Fox was somewhat above the middle size, and, of late years, was rather inclined to be fat. His features, which were strongly marked, exhibited an appearance of shrewdness and ability; and his eye, in the midst of debate, or the animation of an interesting conversation, flashed with fire.

“No portrait has been oftener painted; and he must be a very inaccurate artist indeed, who cannot hit off the saturnine complexion, the piercing look, and the arched and bushy eye-brow of the great commoner. The chissel, as well as the pencil, has been employed in giving durability to his resemblance; for a great number of busts have been executed, of late years, in marble, by Nollekins. No less than thirty-two have been finished by this sculptor, at sixty guineas each, for the Empress of Russia, the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, Lord Albermarle, &c. &c. One in terra cotta has still more recently been finished by Merchant, as a model for a gem.

*Extract from the Hull Packet, of October 14,
1806.*

“ MR. FOX’S FUNERAL.

“ ON Friday the last sad tribute of respect was paid to the remains of this distinguished Orator and Statesman, with a solemnity and sorrow well worthy of the loss which the country has sustained by the death of so great a man. Every member of his Majesty’s Cabinet Council assisted in the ceremony ; and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and several of the Princes of the Blood Royal, would also have been present, but that the imperious rules of Court etiquette forbade that their Royal Highnesses should attend a funeral strictly private.

“ From an early hour in the morning, the streets in the neighbourhood through which the procession was expected to pass, were greatly crowded ; and before ten o’clock all the windows, balconies, sheds, tops of houses, &c. from St. James’s, Pall Mall, Charing-Cross, and Whitehall, to Westminster Abbey, were occupied by all descriptions of persons. The streets through which the procession was to pass were gravelled over ; and the various passages leading into this line, were blocked up by a temporary railing, behind which numbers of carts, carriages, &c. were ranged, filled with all sorts of persons.

“ The remains of Mr. Fox lay in state from ten o’clock in the morning until twelve, for the gratification of all those who attended the funeral. The room was hung with black. There were three large wax tapers on each side the coffin, and the banners that were carried in the procession, were displayed upon the coffin.

“ Exactly at two o’clock the procession commenced, from Mr. Fox’s late residence, in the Stable-yard, in order.

"The procession was a full hour and a half in passing, from first to last. When the procession arrived at the Eastern end of Westminster Abbey, opposite to the entrance of the House of Commons, the several noblemen and gentlemen, who were before in carriages, alighted, and the body being removed from the hearse, the whole procession passed in regular order, on foot, through the small passage between the Abbey and St. Margaret's Church, taking a sweep through the sanctuary, and entering at the great western gate, where a prebendary and the clergy of Westminster, preceded by the gentlemen of the choir, attended to receive them.

"It was near four before the procession began to enter the west door. As soon as the state plume of ostrich feathers entered, the gentlemen of the cathedral fell into the procession, with black scarves upon their shoulders. The Earls of Albemarle and Thanet, and the Lord Chancellor, held up the right side of the pall; the Earl of Carlisle, the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk, held up the left side; the latter wore a new suit of black velvet upon the occasion. Lord Holland followed the corpse of his departed uncle, as chief mourner. His Lordship was supported by Earl Fitzwilliam and Viscount Howick. On their entrance, the organ, and the gentlemen of the choir, began Dr. Croft's funeral service—"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord."—The sublime effect of this charming fine minor music, the awful solemnity of the scene, together with the presence of the remains of their departed leader and favourite friend, had such an effect upon their feelings, that they all burst into a flood of tears. Earl Fitzwilliam was so much affected, that he did not take his handkerchief from his eyes during the time he remained in the church. Lord William Russell, Lord Robert Spencer, and Mr. Whitbread, likewise appeared in extreme grief. The funeral service was read by the Rev. Dr. Ireland, one of the Prebendaries; and at the grave, the gentlemen of the choir sang Purcell's burial service:—"Man that is born of a woman, has but a short time to live."

"On the coffin being let down into the grave, the

Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Norfolk vented their grief in tears; in fact, every countenance was full of sorrow. Although the whole north aisle was extremely crowded, the most solemn silence prevailed. After the interment, the organist played the dead march in Saul; and the coffin was deposited in the silent grave about half past four.

“Every part of the ceremony was most solemn and impressive. And what particularly contributed to the effect was, the orderly demeanour, silence and sorrow of the immense multitudes which were assembled in the streets. They required neither the civil nor military authorities to keep the lines and preserve order. From the Palace to the Abbey, the double mass of spectators, as well as the crowds at the windows, and on the roofs of houses, seemed all penetrated with the same feeling.

“The noblemen and gentlemen who assisted in the procession had come from all parts of the United Kingdom, to pay this last mark of duty to the illustrious deceased. Many of them had come, expressly, hundreds of miles—from Scotland and Ireland, as well as the extremities of England.”

Extract from the Bury Post of October 19,
1806.

“FUNERAL OF MR. FOX.

“THE last obsequies of this great Statesman—this steady Patriot—and endeared Friend, were on Friday attended by a long train of Mourners of the first rank, talents, and worth. The Funeral was truly magnificent, and the conduct of the populace shewed how much this great man still lived in their esteem, as all tumult ceased wherever the

Procession approached, and a death-like silence prevailed.—The arrangements were ably conducted; but these would have been of little avail, if they had not been seconded by the feelings of the great mass of people collected on this mournful occasion.—The bells of all the parishes in Westminster were tolled occasionally, and every thing seemed attuned to the solemnity of the day.

“ About half-past two o’clock the Procession set out from the Stable-yard, St. James’s, in nearly the following order:—

Volunteer Cavalry.

Six Marshalmen, two and two.

High Constable of Westminster.

Musicians playing solemn Music.

Six Conductors on foot.

Fifty-seven poor men, with badges of the crest of the deceased, the number corresponding with his age.

High Bailiff of Westminster.

High Steward of Westminster in his carriage.

Six Marshalmen.

Musicians playing the Dead March in Saul.

Four hundred Gentlemen, Electors of Westminster, in mourning cloaks, and with hat-bands and gloves.

Deputation from the Country, (64)

Three Trumpets a-breast.

Black Standard Banner, carried by a gentleman on horseback, supported by two gentlemen on foot.

174 Members of the Whig Club.

Houshold, in mourning cloaks.

Physicians and Medical Gentlemen.

20 Divines in their gowns, &c.

Singing Boys of the Chapel-Royal, in full dress.

Musicians playing solemn music.

Two Mutes on Horseback.

State Plume of Black Ostrich Feathers, with velvet falls, carried by two men.

Two Mutes on Horseback.

The Great Banner, carried by a gentleman on horseback, supported by two gentlemen in mourning.

Two horsemen in cloaks.

Two Bannerols carried by gentlemen on horseback.

Two Horsemen.—Two Bannerols.

The Crest of the deceased carried on a black velvet cushion, by a gentleman on horseback, uncovered, led by two grooms, with black silk scarfs, hatbands and gloves.

THE HEARSE containing the BODY:

This magnificent vehicle presented an appearance every way appropriate to the dignity of the occasion. It was an open lofty carriage of spacious dimensions; from the base or platform of which rose an oblong pyramidical altar, ascending by four steps, covered at top by an arched canopy, supported by four pillars at the corners, the whole richly hung with black velvet, ornamented with the armorial escutcheons of the deceased, and the whole surmounted by a rich and superb plumage of ostrich feathers. At the top of the altar was placed the body, in a coffin covered with black velvet, ornamented in a style of simple elegance, with gilt silver nails and escutcheon plates.

Immediately after the hearse, followed in mourning coaches drawn by six horses—

The Chief Mourner, Lord Holland, supported by Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Howick.

The Train Bearer, Mr. Trotter (Mr. Fox's Private Secretary.)

The Pall Bearers—

The Lord Chancellor, Dukes of Norfolk and Devonshire. Earls of Thanet, Carlisle, and Albemarle.

Other Mourners in Coaches.

Cabinet Ministers:—Earl Spencer, Lords Ellenborough, Grenville, and Sidmouth; Earl of Moira, Lord H.

Petty, Mr. Windham, Mr. T. Grenville.

Mourners on Foot:—

Earls Cowper, Percy, Besborough, Jersey, and Barrymore; Duke of Leinster, Lords Duncannon, G. Cavendish, J. Townshend, Cholmondeley, W. Russell, and R.

Spencer; Marquisses of Tavistock and Hartington; Generals Walpole and Fitzpatrick; Master of the Rolls in Ireland (Mr. Curran); Attorney and Solicitor General; Messrs. Whitbread, Sheridan, W. Smith, Byng, Adam, Plomer, W. Wynne, Tierney, Giles, Fonblanque, Jervis, Sir Thos. Miller, and Dr Parr.

A small black Banner with the Arms of the Deceased, carried by a gentleman on foot.

Peers, Mourners.

Sons of Peers, Mourners as above.

Above 100 Members of the House of Commons.

Mourners, with scarfs, &c.

Banner of Emblems, carried by a gentleman on horseback, supported by two gentlemen on foot.

Carriages of the Deceased and Relatives.

State Carriages.

Trumpets and Kettle Drums.

Volunteer Cavalry.

“The whole Procession proceeded up Pall Mall, down Cockspur-street, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and to the Abbey, in very slow time; the trumpets sounding at intervals a solemn dirge; and the regimental bands, with muffled drums and fifes, alternately played the Dead March in Saul, and the German Funeral Hymn. The Procession, upon entering the Abbey, was received by the Clergy, and conducted to the Grave, in the North Transept, where the service was performed in the usual manner.—In the interior of the platform which was erected around the grave, stood Lord Holland, and around, the Pall-bearers. Lady Holland and her three sons were seated in the gallery, which was hung with black cloth.

“The spectacle was not so brilliant as the funeral of the gallant Nelson, it is true, but it was much more solemn and affecting. Lord Holland, the amiable nephew of the deceased, the Chief Mourner, was scarcely able to perform this last sad and solemn duty.—Indeed it was not the funeral of an ordinary man; it was like that of the father of a family attended by affectionate children to his last home.—

Although the crowd was excessive, no serious accident occurred.

"Some of the banners, not formal, were highly beautiful. One represented Britannia, reclined under a willow, and sighing over a medallion of her lamented Friend, the steady Guardian of her Rights and Liberties!

"The grave of Mr. Fox is immediately adjoining the monument of Lord Chatham, and within 18 inches of his son, the late Right Hon. Wm. Pitt.

"The Noblemen and Gentlemen who assisted in the Procession had come from all parts of the United Kingdom to pay this last mark of duty to the illustrious deceased, to whom no funeral ordered by the State could have been so truly honourable. It marked the feeling of the nation—and proved that even in death, as in life, he was truly revered as "The Man of the People." * * *

"Thus were consigned to the Tomb the remains of one of the most distinguished Statesmen of the Age and Country in which he lived; who will very long be remembered as "The Man who dared to be honest in the worst of times," in defiance of every obloquy endeavoured to be cast on his character by many of those who were afterwards constrained to acknowledge his almost prophetic foresight, which carried conviction to the minds of his enlightened countrymen, of his superior political sagacity!"

"THIS

" THIS MAUSOLEUM

ENTOMBS

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

Who died September 13th, 1806, aged 57 Years.

His first Years of Instruction were under
The paternal Auspices of
Lord HOLLAND;

His latter were completed at ETON, and at OXFORD.

The SOVEREIGN of the UNIVERSE,
At whose Command Nations flourish and decay,
The more to scourge and afflict this Nation,
In his Judgment for our Offences,
Hath taken to HIMSELF Men of transcendent Abilities,
The most promising to save a sinking Nation,—
NELSON, CORNWALLIS, PITT, AND THURLOW;
But a Loss, the most deplorably felt—
By ENGLAND,
By the whole HUMAN RACE,
Was

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

As a Statesman, an Orator, and a MAN.—

The Follies of his Youth were obliterated by the
Usefulness and Benevolence of his riper Years.

The COMMONS of ENGLAND can best appreciate,
The Force of his Eloquence, the Ingenuity of his Reasoning,
His political Sagacity, his animated Expression,
The Amplitude and Correctness of his Views,
The Strength and Clearness of his Conceptions :

The PEOPLE of ENGLAND, his Manly Wisdom,
His Patriotic Virtue, his Love of his Fellow Creatures ;
His FRIENDS, who were of the highest Classes of Society,
The Suavity of his Manners,
The Frankness, the Honesty, the Feeling, the Generosity,
The amiable and endearing Charities of his Heart ;
EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA,
People the most remote,
Have experienced the benign Influence of his consummate
Eloquence

In vindicating the Rights of Nature,
In opposing Tyranny, Slavery, Oppression.

The avowed Enemy to the Miseries of War,
The steady Promoter of Peace, and of Good Will to Man,
He uniformly supported the Rights of the People,
Civil and Religious

LIBERTY.

Firmly adhering to, and boldly maintaining
The true and genuine Principles of the Constitution, as
asserted at the REVOLUTION,
In defiance of the rancorous Spirit of the Times,
And the violent Malignity of the JACOBINS.
As he possessed the Spirit to undertake, the Manliness to
defend,
The wonderful Ability to support all Measures that led
to Truth, to Honor, and to Justice,
So he spurned the Idea of shaping his Arguments,
To court the Smiles of a Minister.

He was traduced, calumniated, and abused, for his supposed
Motives ;

Misrepresented to his SOVEREIGN,
Who dismissed him from his Councils ;
But the Disgrace was temporary :—

He was honorably recalled by the SAME SOVEREIGN,
To fill the Employment of those Men,
He lived to see, disgraced themselves, and who were
The chief Instruments of his Obloquy and Oppression.—

Enjoying the Confidence of HIS SOVEREIGN and the
PEOPLE,

He directed his great Mind, and mighty Talents,
To the Restoration of Peace, to his Country, to Europe.
To effect these Blessings, in allaying the Miseries of an
agitated World,

Objects nearest to his Heart,
And the most anxious Wish of his Dying Moments,
He just lived to begin a Negociation with FRANCE;
His Death interrupted the Progress of this glorious Work:
Even FRANCE deeply bewailed the common Calamity,
And, with ENGLAND,
Equally lamented his irreparable Loss.

Had PROVIDENCE
Thought fit to lengthen the Period of his Days,
Much might have been done
To preserve the Repose of EUROPE,
And the Happiness of the HUMAN RACE.
Such an illustrious MAN, returning to the Dust,
Was borne to his Sepulchre, most sumptuously,
But—not at the Nation's Expence;
He passed to the Tomb, amidst the Tears of the Multitude;
And the strongest Testimonies of Regard to his Worth,
Are best known by the distinguished Persons,
From the Extremities of the United Kingdom,
Who attended his Remains
To the Grave,
Where the Mortal Part shall perish in the Dust,—
But the Remembrance of
His splendid Talents, his patriotic Services,
His inestimable Qualities,
Shall live to distant Ages.

J. W."

*Extract from the Oxford Review for August
1807.*

FROM A CRITIQUE UPON A SATIRICAL POEM
ENTITLED, ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

"NEAR the beginning of the poem we find the following eulogy on Mr. Fox.

'Immortal Fox! around whose marble bed
Britannia's children mourn a parent dead,
Oh teach my dim and doubtful Muse to shine
With words that burn, and thoughts that glow like thine:
Lend her thy pow'rs, to stem Oppression's tide,
To lash Presumption, Bigotry, and Pride;
To drag Corruption from her caves of night,
And force her forward on the public sight;
To track the knave through all his doubling chace,
And tear, at last, the vizard from his face!"

"Subjoined is the following note:

'The great name of Fox is best celebrated by the review of British history for the last five and thirty years. If ever a human being united the talents and virtues of a poet, an orator, a philosopher, a statesman, a legislator, and a man, that being was Charles Fox. He was called the enemy of his country—yes, because he was a friend who gave us good advice, contrary to the inclination of our passions: because he acknowledged that Americans were freemen, and denied the right of England to model the constitution of France: because, considering that a state, as well as an individual, should be just and honourable, he raised his voice against oppression, even when his country was the oppressor, and deprecated the sallies of folly, even though his country was foolish: because he could never learn the convenient art of bending the general principles of virtue to the endless sinu-

osities of circumstance. It was always the misfortune of Great Britain that his counsels were followed too late. The excellence of his remedies was acknowledged when the patient was past cure. So the famous Dr. Meade used to say, "I should have more credit for medical success than I now have, but that people never send for me till their disorder is desperate." Mr. Fox, through a public course of almost unexampled length, displayed a firmness as unexampled: He withstood the allurements of wealth, and even the still more seductive temptations of power: he was almost the only great man of his time, whom no artifice could shake, whom no promises could buy: for, as Lord Camden has expressed it, "his price was immortality, and he knew that posterity would pay it."

*Extract from the Universal Magazine for March
and April, 1805.*

"THERE is scarcely a sentiment more debasing to the character of man, than "I have nothing to do with public men and public affairs, I leave the consideration of them to abler hands." Now as there is no one whose condition may not be bettered or rendered worse by the wise, or mal-administration of government, it becomes all to reflect upon the choice of those persons who are placed in the seat of public rule. It was Cato's opinion, that every man should take one side or the other in all questions of importance connected with the commonwealth. Every individual in the empire is, as it were, a proprietor in the stock of national happiness and national fortune, and therefore ought to watch whether the best and fittest trustees are chosen for managing such great concerns. The mind of a man, whether rich or poor, cannot be more usefully employed sometimes than in estimating the capacities, developing the

principles, and ascertaining the virtues of those who offer themselves as candidates for high stations in the administration of public affairs. The celebrated man whose character fills the first few pages of this number of our Miscellany, comes under this description. An impartial account of his principles, professions, and prospects, will afford the most rational evidence by which the justice of his claim for public confidence can be decided. It has been said that "the sun of liberty rarely shines but on the tomb of some great patriot." It should seem to be the fate of Mr. Fox to spend his whole life in unavailing struggles for ameliorating the condition of his country. But why do we say unavailing? his efforts are not wholly so: if he has not exalted the political condition of his country, he has saved it from imminent peril. The influence of his talents put a period to a war the most destructive that ever a nation madly engaged in. Now though many are unwilling to give him his due share of praise on that occasion, because the desisting from prosecuting that war was attended with the dismemberment of the empire; such persons ought to recollect that the perseverance in it could not but endanger the whole together. England had the world in arms against her, and nothing could have contributed so effectually to accomplish the hostile views of France upon us at that time, as our continuing to wage a distant, expensive, and bloody war with a people whom the subduing (had that event been possible) could only have left in a ruined and exhausted state at our feet.

"The writer of this sketch thinks it necessary thus early in the task he has assigned himself, to declare, that he has no connection with Mr. Fox, nor any of the friends with whom that gentleman associates. He is not personally known to him, nor has he the vanity, as many others have, of hoping to raise himself in the remotest degree to the notice of this British worthy, by doing only that which truth and justice would extort from the greatest stranger.

"Having therefore no personal bias for this great character, the writer is the more free to speak of that part of

his public conduct for which he has been censured, and for which he is, perhaps, thought to have deserved censure. This sketch, then, is neither taken from the reproaches and surmises of Mr. Fox's enemies, nor from the assertions and panegyrics of his friends, but from those actions, concerning which every impartial man would be equally able to judge of the merit and demerit of their author.

"A man so elevated as Mr. Fox, and whose abilities alone have distinguished him, must naturally occasion as much envy as emulation, and of course be exposed to the unmeaning panegyric of one party, and the indiscriminate invective of the other. We should hardly deserve credit for our professions of impartiality, if we were to assert that in the variety of scenes in which Mr. Fox has played so conspicuous a part, he is free from all faults. But we trust that if, after making allowances for them as drawbacks against his transcendent virtues, it be affirmed that he is the first and greatest commoner in this country, the assertion is in no danger of contradiction.

"Charles James Fox was born on the 13th of January, 1749, and is the second son of Henry, first Lord Holland, by Lady Georgina Carolina, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Richmond. By the mother's side, then, he is descended from the royal house of Stuart; he is, therefore, not only related to most of the ancient families of rank in this kingdom, but actually allied to the present reigning family. By his father's side, however, Mr. Fox derives no consequence from his ancestors. Without giving credit to the idle stories about that parent, it is sufficient to say, that he laid the foundation of his own honours by his talents and application to business. Nothing was too intricate for him in the way of figures, and his address in parliament recommended him to the notice of George II. who, in the year 1754, made him Secretary at War, and on the following year, upon the resignation of Sir Thomas Robinson, appointed him Secretary of State for the southern department. In 1763 he was, in the present reign, created a peer, by the title of Baron Holland, of Foxley. The seven years war, as it has been called, broke out in 1756, and

commenced under very unfortunate auspices. The people grew dissatisfied, and wished for a change of ministry. The monarch, then so well advised, without relinquishing his prerogative, gave way to the nation; and changing Mr. Fox for Mr. Pitt, all went well and prosperous.

“ Mr. Fox, however, was not long unemployed: for as most of those with whom he had acted were re-instated in power, by a coalition between the two parties, he was nominated to the lucrative post of Paymaster-general of the Forces. It was in this office he accumulated that vast wealth, which he left to his heirs, and which exposed his character in the decline of life, to cutting sarcasm, and himself to the opprobrious appellation of ‘the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.’ This nobleman commenced and pursued his career in an opposite direction to that of his son, for he continued to the end of his life, the steady supporter of government. Whatever criminal speculations, therefore, he might be guilty of, he had numerous powerful friends, who were willing to wink at them. It is generally found, that those persons who are determined to support government in all its measures, are the least sound in principle. They seem to say, with an equally culpable nobleman of the present day, ‘Wha wants me, must pay me.’ Indeed, it is with money, as it is with power, if it lie too long in the same hand, it will corrupt the possessor. But the nobleman of that day was not half so much to blame as the nobleman of this. There was no law, at that time, forbidding the practice of turning the public money to private advantage; whereas there is an act of parliament, framed in part by the recent noble delinquent, who thought proper to break it. What will become of the virtue of our House of Commons, if a member of it, by the connivance of higher authority, rewards such persons as he pleases, with the interest of a few hundred thousand pounds now and then, for we cannot suppose he would be so inordinately avaricious, as to keep the interest of so many millions to himself!!! When we exclaim, Ah poor England! We do not mean to say that our country has not precious boons to bestow on the *guardians of its virtue and honour!!!*

But to return to the man who is the professed subject of this brief memoir. His father, though addicted to libertine habits in the early part of his life, was exemplary for the care he took of his children's education. He very soon perceived in his son Charles James a genius which would one day attract universal admiration. His rapid progress in the acquisition of classical learning at Eton school, obtained him a decided superiority in every class he entered. As his father had always encouraged him to think freely, he acquired the habit of speaking readily, and, therefore, in every enterprise which required an orator, he was generally fixed on by his playmates for their leader. That manliness which a wise parent inspired him with while young, never left him for a moment under any circumstance of life. He was under the direction of Dr. Barnard, while at Eton, but he had Dr. Newcombe, the late Bishop of Waterford, for private tutor, who thought with reason, that he derived more celebrity from the circumstance of having such a pupil, than from any preferment whatever in the church. Nothing can better shew the strength of his mind, and of his constitution, than that by turns literature, by turns dissipation, appeared to engross his whole attention, and yet the apparent preference of the one was not allowed to interfere with the other. He was observed, never to be satisfied with mediocrity in any pursuit. Whatever he set his heart on, he followed with ardor. He soon demonstrated his attachment to the finer sensibilities of humanity, by always espousing the weakest side, in those contests which occasionally disturb the society of youths. He often presided as judge in disputes, and when he saw a school-fellow borne down by partiality and prejudice, he exerted his maiden eloquence in favour of justice. Lord Carlisle was a cotemporary, and so admired the young Mr. Fox, for his generosity and penetration in speaking, that he wrote the following beautiful verses in prophecy of what might be expected from this precocious and elegant scholar.

‘ How will my Fox, alone, by strength of parts,
 ‘ Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts

' Of fearful statesmen ! while around you stand
 ' Both peers and commons, listening your command ;
 ' While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,
 ' His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words.
 ' What praise to Pitt, to Townshend, e'er was due,
 ' In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you.'

" From Eton he went to Oxford, where he is said to have read nine or ten hours every day, during the whole term, without inconvenience from a series of nocturnal rambles, in which he displayed equal assiduity. The tedious uniformity of a college did not agree with the ardour of his mind. His talents were not to be chained to the frigid acquisition of science, and the languid enjoyments of a contemplative life. He wished for active and enterprising scenes, and obtained leave of his father to make the usual tour.

" Though every thing in the form of luxury and dissipation struck his fancy, yet had he an equal appetite for inquiry, and no man was better qualified to derive instruction from that novelty which travelling affords. To resist the attractions of French vivacity and Italian luxury, he had the considerations of his country's welfare, and the honour of his character. These were sometimes of too feeble an influence to prevent him from taking intoxicating pleasure, and withholding him from the gaming table. His father being apprized of these excesses, urged him to return home. He was obliged to comply, though we doubt not with considerable reluctance, as he had entered into the elegant and pleasurable societies of some of the most beautiful women on the continent. From the theatre of dissipation and pleasure, he was transplanted into that of oratory and politics; if the former had been to him more attractive and fascinating, this was the most important and honourable; and the father being no stranger to the lively and impetuous disposition of his son, foresaw that a seat in parliament would detach him from a course which threatened injury to his health and ruin to his fortune. Lord Holland, therefore, at the general election in 1768, pro-

cured him the return for Midhurst, in Sussex. Every person under age is by law incompetent to judge for himself, and still less, deemed capable of making laws for others: on this ground he was ineligible to sit in the House of Commons, not being quite twenty years of age. However this happened, whether by design or accidental oversight in the Committee of Privileges, and in the Speaker; it may be considered as a singular circumstance in this great political actor entering on the public stage. No notice being taken of his nonage (for it could not but be known) was perhaps a compliment of indulgence, or some other venal motive in those who counted on his support at his outset. The exertions and display of talents in a youth, never fail to conciliate good-will, and even affection: it has since been the case with his rival, Mr. Pitt. No member in his noviciate ever excited so much anxiety and expectation. He satisfied the fondest hopes of all who knew him. He was the subject of conversation in every fashionable company. His mode of speaking had so much originality in it, and had so much of the voice of nature, that he attracted universal admiration. His maiden speech was on the subject of Mr. Wilkes's petition from the King's Bench prison, to be admitted to take his seat, and thereby satisfy the desire of his constituents. It is true that on this question he did not take the popular side, the side on which the best and most constitutional lawyers declared the justice to lie. It has been imagined, that if he had favoured that side he would not have been allowed to retain his seat, on account of his minority. Thus his parliamentary career began in the support of the measures of government, and so much did the minister of that day value that support, that in a short time Mr. Fox was advanced to a seat at the Admiralty board. No sooner, however, was he made acquainted with the arcana of government, than he retired in disgust, as his friends say (and we have no reason or desire to deny it) because his honest mind recoiled at the measures that were preparing for the great and iniquitous scene in the American war. The measures, however, were said to have been softened down, and he was persuaded to resume his

seat for a short time, when in December 1772, he was raised to a seat at the Treasury board. On this occasion he was twitted by the opposition as a placeman, and these reproaches he parried by steadily, and in a manly way, denying the acceptance of his appointment as the price of his services. He in some measure silenced the clamours of his antagonists by declaring, that he should support the measures of the government no longer than while he believed from his conscience they were calculated to promote the welfare of the British empire. He had here a difficult task to perform, for the blunders of the minister required the greatest abilities to cover or excuse them. It is no trifling instance of the mutability of human affairs, that the first colleague of Mr. Fox should be Lord North, and the first oratorical adversary, Mr. Edmund Burke!! It ought, however, to be remembered, that though these two great men exercised the keenest wit and raillery against each other, nothing in the least personal or invidious entered into their attacks, replies, or rejoinders. Our hero was always ready to treat the brilliant talents of his opponent with that eminent and respectful distinction, to which they were justly entitled. While he continued an advocate for the minister, he had a great deal of invective to withstand and suspicion to rebut. The political opinions he asserted and defended, were not calculated to acquire him popularity. For one of those opinions, he was severely attacked by the then Lord Advocate of Scotland. He defended himself, however, very ably, and supposing the sentiment he had been charged with had fallen from his lips in the warmth of debate, some allowance ought to be made for the inadvertence of youth. The sentence in dispute was, whether he had said, the voice of the public was to be collected in that house, or ONLY in that house. He denied that a just interpretation had been put on his words, and appealed to every one who had heard him, whether, in the opinion he had given concerning the Middlesex election, he did not rest his argument on the power of the people. Which ever party was wrong in this dispute, the time was soon to come when this promising statesman would have an opportunity

of manifesting those opinions which could not fail to appear congenial to his nature. The minister was not insensible to the consequence of such a loss. Mr. Fox was tired of his tutelage; and Lord North would relinquish no share of his influence to him. All men are fond of power, and few are disposed to grant a partial surrender of it, even to their confidential friends. This maxim has been illustrated very lately, in the case of a minister of long standing, and another of a much shorter. Lord North and Mr. Fox separated, the latter insisting upon an opinion of his own, and the former resolving to admit of no co-adjutor. It is supposed that the same *secret*, but *sovereign* power, which now opposes Mr. Fox's legitimate views and claims, then watched the minutiae of government, and prevented the premier of that day from admitting him to a participation in the fame and emoluments of government; for it is impossible that a man of Lord North's discernment, would not have made a sacrifice in some degree of that which he loved, to purchase that aid which he could not keep without honour, nor lose without danger. He had experienced how serviceable Mr. Fox was as a friend, and must therefore know, he could be formidable as an enemy. Mr. Fox was sensible that he could not take the step he was meditating, without incurring certain imputations for inconsistency. He had supported the measures of government for near six years, and knew that no abilities, nor even virtues, can wholly excuse the want of stability. It is generally a mark of intellectual weakness, and sometimes of depravity; but he determined to admit of no compromise between conscience and convenience. Whether Mr. Fox had, or had not, uttered the unconstitutional sentiment imputed to him, there is no doubt but he had done some injury by his talents, in supporting the measures of men who were strongly tinctured with arbitrary principles. He was now about to send an antidote into the world after the poison. As well as it can be recollected at this distance of time, it is believed, that the open rupture between him and the minister took place upon the subject of the Rev. Mr. Horne, now Mr. Horne Tooke, being ordered to the bar of

the House of Commons, as the supposed author of a paper, which treated with great freedom the Speaker of the House of Commons, (Sir Fletcher Norton.) Mr. Fox was anticipated in his intention of resigning, by a very laconic epistle, couched in the following words*. The manner in which this note was handed over to Mr. Fox, being through one of the door-keepers, increased that resentment and contempt, which had now taken place of confidence and esteem; nevertheless he voted with administration for a short time, though he scarcely ever spoke on that side. As soon, however, as Lord North's treatment of him was known, he seceded from the treasury bench, and seated himself on the opposite side. There were those, and there are still, who would impute this conduct to sinister views: but what instance can be shewn where he has made his own interest or emolument a rule of conduct?

"Mr. Fox was now in the sphere for displaying and exercising his unequalled talents. He joined a band of patriots, whose efforts will be acknowledged with gratitude by the latest posterity. They put an end to an unjust war, which, if longer continued, might absolutely have led to our total annihilation as a free country. In questions between assumed privilege and natural right, his mind rises as in its proper element; he enters into the argument with spirit and decision, a penetration and solidity which prove his competency to the subject. To the firm stand he took at this time may be ascribed the commencement of that reputation which cannot fail to illustrate his country, and immortalize his name. His character is now made up for ever. We are persuaded that no temptation could ever put it on the hazard of diminution. Mr. Fox commenced his system of opposition in the midst of circumstances which enabled him to foresee and foretel the calamities of the public, and that with an instantaneous decision, which begets in his hearers a confidence in the resolutions of his

* See Page 25.

enlightened mind. For some years the administration had been rendered an object of popular jealousy, owing to the uniform exclusion of the whig interest from any share in the government. The Scotch, less friendly to liberty, had more favour at court, and this gave just cause of offence to the ancient and noble families who had most contributed to the Hanoverian succession. The influence of the crown had increased by the worst of all means, viz. by the notorious intrigues of a court faction. The democratic diminished in the same proportion the executive power augmented. A number of oppressive statutes enacted against the interest and consent of our colonies in America, alienated the affections of their inhabitants, and raised just apprehensions of a civil war, which might ultimately endanger the safety of the whole empire. Notwithstanding a majority in parliament was for coercive measures against our colonists, despondency spread itself over the country, and the public fortune (as might be seen by the price of the funds) began rapidly to decline. Under this state of things, if it were necessary to assign a strong reason for Mr. Fox joining the opposition, it would be sufficient to say, that one of the best moral and political characters in the kingdom was at the head of it. Such a man as the late Marquis of Rockingham was a sufficient security for the honour of those who acted under him. In this list were seen the distinguished names of a Burke, a Camden, a Barré, and a Dunning; names which will long be dear to the country, notwithstanding the unlooked-for conduct of the first of those in the decline of his life. Perhaps there was never an opposition endued with such splendid talents as this, when Mr. Fox joined it. To the virtue and ability of that phalanx the salvation of the country may be ascribed. The people were duped by the sophisms of that day as they are at this. They were taught to believe the honour and the interest of Great Britain depended on the reduction of America; and having been accustomed to conquest and sovereignty in every quarter of the world, their pride was wounded at the thought of giving way, though in the wrong. It is in this disposition of nations, as of individu-

als, that we read their gradual ruin and final destruction. The public at large was willing to confess we were in the wrong, long before the parliament could be brought to reason: but by what secret means majorities in the houses of parliament are rendered so obsequious to the will of ministers, a few more commissioners' reports may clearly unfold. Lord Rockingham, during the short time of his administration, actuated by the same motives as Lord St. Vincent lately, set about to check the growing and scandalous corruption, but it was then, as it is now, an herculean labour, and that man must be strong in power, as well as pure in principle, who effectually cleanses the Augean stable. The stigma which all those who profit by abuses endeavour to throw upon the reformer, makes him sensible of the importance of the motto of one of our nobility, *ne tentes aut perforce*. Mr. Fox heartily coincided with the noble lord, and he joined in the necessity of reforming many abuses, which threatened to undermine the constitution, or render it of no avail to its admirers. If they did not do every thing that was wished, they did much for the liberties of the people. By the contractors' bill, near fifty court minions, who were capable of sacrificing the public interest to their own, were prevented from sitting in parliament. Above fifty thousand revenue officers, creatures of the crown, and always ready to support the nomination of the treasury, to the injury of the rights and liberties of their fellow subjects, were deprived of their power of voting. The board of trade, a mere lucrative asylum for ministerial apologists, was annihilated and proscribed. Numerous places were either retrenched of their enormous overgrown profits, or entirely suppressed. The boroughs, whose privileges were so inimical to the rights of the community at large, and so universally considered a grievance, were not overlooked; but as they are so valuable a species of property to their owners, and so convenient for effectuating the schemes of prerogative, it is doubtful whether any thing short of a revolution will ever free the body from these its rotten members.

"No man could ever leave the treasury bench, and take his seat on that of opposition, under more honourable auspices than Mr. Fox did. During the period he was in office, the claims of America were never debated in parliament, he, therefore, was not only free from blame, in the preposterous policy which involved the country in a civil broil, but had a pledge of the sincerest nature to give to mankind that he was the voluntary advocate of their rights. He had discernment enough to see, that, if ministers should succeed in extending an arbitrary dominion over those who were precluded from participation of privileges, they must at the same time forge chains for the future vassalage of their fellow subjects and posterity.

"All his conceptions on the subject of liberty are as just as they are grand. In the early part of the discussions on the topic of America, (so soon as December 13, 1774) he affirmed, that no reason could be given for exercising a power in America which ought not to be extended to Ireland, and had no idea of exempting one part of the empire from any burthen which materially affected another. On March 6, 1775, he laid down the distinction between internal and external taxation, and pointed out the sole way we had left us for retaining the sovereignty, and monopolising the commerce of America for ever. It is astonishing, that so young a statesman could have possessed so much wisdom as to foresee what the frantic measures of an infatuated ministry would end in: nay, it might seem, that they were preconceived with the sole intention of producing the identical effects he predicted, and which actually followed. It was he who called the attention of his majesty's servants to the conduct of France and Spain, and warned them of their hostile designs against the peace and safety of this country; he, therefore, in time, advised the ceasing from our unjust designs of subjugating America, and concentrating our forces to resist the common enemy. He was, however, certain, the Americans would never treat with the ministry, or the creatures of a ministry, whom they detested for the injuries received at their hands. In the whole series of hostilities directed against the colonies, Mr. Fox suc-

cessively protested against them, one by one, and when he found that they had entered into commercial and amicable treaties with their Most Catholic and Christian Majesties, and consequently, that both these powers became bound in gratitude and good faith to assist them, as well against our resentment, as our endeavours to destroy their connection; he declared, that the duty for us to perform, after the bloody transactions our unjust policy had occasioned, was to endeavour to secure a large share of their commerce, by a perpetual alliance on a federal foundation. The house, to use a vulgar phrase, was, to make the best of a bad bargain. Some such advice we stand in need of at the present time; and it can never be supposed, that so high-spirited a mind as that possessed by our admired statesman would ever consent to compromise the honour of his country, to obtain for it the semblance of a peace. There is a policy which may temper resentment, and restrain courage, without any diminution of reputation. But it is the misfortune at all times, that the minister who commences a war, however unjust or unnecessary, is unwilling to desist from it as long as he can, in whatever manner he raises means for continuing it.

“This is one of the most inauspicious omens accompanying the reinstatement into power of our present minister. The different speeches of Mr. Fox, on this interesting subject, are so many specimens of wisdom and intellectual attainment. He took the lead in all the subsequent struggles of that illustrious opposition, and at length succeeded in putting an end to a war which so emphatically had been said to tarnish the honour and glory of Great Britain.

“Mr. Fox merits to be as much distinguished for the philosopher as the statesman. His rival, on the contrary, evinces not the smallest tincture of philosophy in all he does, in all he says: his character being wholly included within the range of what the French define *un homme d'état*. In conjunction with many other sound patriots and consummate statesmen, he put an end to that sophistry and corruption which enabled Lord North and his coadjutors

to carry on the American war, which was observed in our last to have sullied the annals of British History. The motive of Mr. Fox's opposition to government is always as obvious as it is rational. The unfortunate progress, and the dishonourable termination of the contest we have been speaking of, proved on what a wretched and mistaken policy it was founded. He has uniformly laid it down as an axiom in politics, that when a country in the space of a few years is changed from a prosperous to an opposite condition, the government of it must be ill administered. The effectual opposition, however, of this great patriot and statesman, and of Lord Rockingham, during the short period that nobleman lived to act with him, saved us from the peril with which we were threatened. By the peace our views were directed again to commerce; and by this we were again elevated to a pitch of uncommon good fortune. We resembled a man who had recovered from a course of intoxication with an unimpaired constitution. The funds, which represent the nation's fortune, rose to an unparalleled height, the three per cents. being, in a short time, at ninety-eight and a fraction. It is true that Mr. Fox had no share in the government at this juncture we are speaking of; but it was chiefly owing to him that the affairs of the nation had been directed into so happy a channel; and there is every reason to believe that if his counsel had been listened to, in the late unlooked-for dilemma, we should still have pursued the same auspicious track. The person who had made his way to the supreme post of government, though of uncommon attainment, had less experience in men and things, and was not gifted with the same foresight into public events: he plunged the nation into a new war, to keep out of the country a principle which it was alledged had occasioned the French revolution, and might endanger our own establishment. No man will deny that there was some danger of that kind: but was it wise to enter into a war to avert it? Was no part of that danger to be found at home? And would it not have been more politic to concede to the people those privileges which on all hands it is allowed they have a right to demand. It

did appear undoubtedly that there was a considerably diffused republican spirit in England, at the period to which we allude; but republicans are a loud as well as plain speaking men, and there were too many persons apprised of the advantages of a well-tempered and mixed government, not to have been contented with the monarchical part of it, notwithstanding the existence of those grievances so loudly complained of. Under so prudent a course, Mr. Fox would have been the adviser of the crown as well as the advocate of the people. Where nothing is to be demanded, our views are to preserve what we have got. How has his rival acted? Why, in resisting that claim which he once acknowledged by his conduct to be just, and sanctioned by his eloquence, he has diminished the national prosperity, and put the whole of the public fortune to hazard.

“There are some who blame Mr. Fox’s opposition, as they do every thing else, on the ground of its retarding the necessary movements of the state in time of war. In a masterly speech he delivered on the 3rd of March, 1779, introductory to a motion of censure on the first lord of the admiralty, he offers a satisfactory answer to such persons. After speaking of the advantages a despotic government derives from secrecy, and an exemption from public interference in many of its enterprizes, where the vigour of exertion is only bounded by the abilities of the state; he beautifully exemplifies how much such advantages are overbalanced by those of a free government. “No society,” said he, “is constituted solely for war. It would be imprudent not to provide against such a contingency; but absurd to make it the exclusive object of every civil institution. In this respect, therefore, free are infinitely preferable to despotic states. The latter seem modelled, only with a few exceptions, to circumstances of hostility; the former are chiefly calculated for times of peace. These more effectually protect men in their persons and properties, encourage and stimulate the exertions of individuals, call forth and occupy talents in the public service which might otherwise be lost in obscurity, assist the enterprizes of trade and com-

merce, inspire the love of our country, and countenance a spirit of honest independence. No modification of society can be altogether free from inconvenience; but that is certainly best, on the whole, which puts every man as nearly on a level as possible, by subjecting all equally to the same laws. This happily combines every member of the society in one common interest, and creates a personal, as well as a public pride, which, when properly directed and judiciously restrained, is the strongest incitement to magnanimity and glory." He went on to prove, that no nations have been more generally successful in war than those in which the whole body of the people had a share in the public councils; and cited the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, in exemplification of his observation. If it has been this gentleman's lot to be distinguished more than any other person as an oppositionist, it has arisen from his regard to public honour and public good. He has been heard to say, and he was believed when he said it, that all private aversions he sincerely and solemnly disclaimed; and has often protested, that man was not on earth against whom he harboured the least personal antipathy. "Malignity," (he has said), "I thank God, is a sensation totally foreign to my feelings." He has appealed to his friends and acquaintance, whether nature had cursed him with a disposition so hostile, either to his own or the happiness of others. The same declaration was made on the occasion of his taking a hostile part against Sir Hugh Palliser, and defending the character of his gallant and honourable relation, Admiral Keppel. The dispute between these two naval officers, and the consequent court martial, excited a great deal of animosity in the navy. Mr. Fox made an admirable speech in the House of Commons on that occasion; it discovered strong powers of oratory, much political sagacity, a great knowledge of the world, and, above all, an intimate acquaintance with the human heart. We have not room to transcribe the substance of this memorable and masterly oration he made on the intrigues employed by a court faction of that day, to exalt one character by the ruin of the other, as suited the interest of the men in

power; but the facts to which it refers ought never to be forgotten, while the British navy is regarded in proportion to its utility. The whole influence of the crown was exerted to effect the design of its ministers, but it might be said of the veteran admiral, as Junius said of Wilkes, "The rays of royal indignation, concentrated on this one man, served but to illumine, they could not consume him."

"It may not be thought improper just to mention here, that Vice Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser had preferred a charge against his commander in chief, Admiral Keppel, and that the court martial declared the accusation to be malicious and ill founded. Notwithstanding this proceeding had drawn considerable unpopularity on the head of the accuser, the ministry thought proper to reward him with the government of Greenwich Hospital. This appointment was considered by many, as well as by Mr. Fox, to be a measure of so much criminality, so incongruous to the sense, and derogatory to the honour of the nation, that it drew from the veteran admiral's relation a torrent of indignant oratory, and a motion of censure on the appointment. The above is one of the instances which has called up the inquisitorial and patriotic spirit of the ablest and most popular senator that ever espoused the cause of the people against any government. The bold and undisguised manner in which this pupil of nature, this man of the people, speaks concerning men and their actions, has not only thrown him sometimes into altercations, but once brought his life into danger. In the session of 1779, Mr. Adam, who had till that time acted in concert with the minority, hinted to the house, that he should vote with administration. This secession at such a time (for it was in the most calamitous period of the war) greatly altered the opinion of that gentleman's friends concerning the integrity of his views. The defection in Mr. Adam raised the tone of the party he joined. Ministers industriously propagated, both in and out of parliament, that all our want of success, and every disaster in the war, were chargeable to the opposition, by impeding the measures

of government, and defeating its operations. Mr. Fox ably and with indignant warmth, defended himself and his friends from the imputation of struggling as a party merely for place, power, and profit. Such a preposterous mode of slandering opposition, he observed, scarcely merited a serious answer. He threw, however, upon his adversaries, such flashes of indignation by way of retort, that they never ventured afterwards to assail him in the same strain: after making an arch parody on a striking passage in Gulliver's travels, he said, "I can bear well enough, in some respects, and even make allowance for the ignorance, incapacity, folly, corruption, love of place, emolument, and power, in these men. I can even pity them for their wants, their impotence, and their gross stupidity. I feel for their miserable infatuation, not knowing whether to rush headlong on immediate ruin, or retreat with safety. Despicable and unprincipled as they are, I have nevertheless learned to regard their persons with respect, from the conspicuous stations they hold in the view of the public. But when such men, thus involved, and involving others in every possible misfortune and disgrace, urge their claims of merit for what deserves an ax or a halter, and under a complication of great national calamities, coolly contend that those disasters, which every individual feels, do not exist, or if they do, that they ought justly to be ascribed to opposition; such a lump of deformity and disease, of folly and wickedness, of ignorance and temerity, thus deeply and incurably smitten with pride, and distended by audacity, breaks all measures of patience." Such a portraiture of the associates of Mr. Adam, could not but be a little galling to that gentleman: it is, therefore, not very surprising that a misconstruction in a warm debate should induce him to think his own honour impeached by the sarcastic allusions on the whole party of which he had now become a member. Mr. Adam was a lawyer, but forgot that honour ought not to have been sacrificed to the savage etiquette of a childish resentment, and that it was wrong to add his own example to continue and sanction a custom which often stakes a valuable life against the most worthless, and involves the inno-

cent in those misfortunes which should belong only to the guilty. The day after the debate alluded to, Mr. Adam wrote to Mr. Fox a note as follows, dated Saturday, four o'clock, afternoon, November 27, 1779.

“ ‘ Mr. Adam presents his compliments to Mr. Fox, and begs leave to represent to him, that upon considering again and again what passed between them last night, it is impossible for him to have his character cleared to the public, without inserting the following paragraph in the newspapers.’ “ We have authority to assure the public, that in a conversation that passed between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam, in consequence of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday last, Mr. Fox declared, that, however much his speech may have been misrepresented, he did not mean to throw any personal reflection upon Mr. Adam.” In a post-script was added, ‘ Major Humberstone does me the honour of delivering this to you, and will bring your answer.’

“ Mr. Fox, whose sentiments are not more nice on national than on personal honour, returned the following answer ;

“ ‘ Sir, I am sorry it is utterly inconsistent with my ideas of propriety to authorise the putting any thing into the newspapers relative to a speech, which in my opinion required no explanation. You, who heard the speech, must know that it did convey no personal reflection upon you, unless you felt yourself in the predicament upon which I animadverted. The account of my speech in the newspapers is certainly incorrect, and as certainly unauthorised by me ; and therefore, with respect to that, I have nothing to say. Neither the conversation that passed at Brookes’s, nor this letter, is of a secret nature ; and, if you have any wish to relate the one, or shew the other, you are perfectly at liberty to do so. I am, &c. &c.’

“ The consequence of this was a duel, in which Mr. Fox was wounded. From various circumstances connected

with this proceeding, the passions of the public were inflamed against the challenger, and insinuations in the public papers were thrown out that he chose this way of settling the difference from motives too bad to be avowed. In consequence, his person, country, and connections, were all exposed to a torrent of abuse. It was even said, that the designs of the ministry on Mr. Fox were base and bloody, and that Mr. Adam had been made an instrument of their purpose. This severe and unjust interpretation obtained some kind of countenance from the unfortunate and unperceived circumstance of Mr. Fox having been wounded when Mr. Adam fired his second shot. Col. Fitzpatrick accompanied Mr. Fox. Mr. Adam acknowledged his antagonist's conduct to be completely that of a man of honour, and it was extolled in all companies. Firmness, generosity and courage were evinced by him on this awful occasion, and no action of his life tended more to endear and exalt him in the public opinion. He was visited and congratulated on his escape by the most distinguished of the nobility and commoners in the kingdom. The moment when this serious affair happened seemed big with the fate of the empire. Disunion at home, want of respectability abroad, loss of territory, danger of general bankruptcy, were the unequivocal symptoms of approaching ruin. Ireland had entered into a spirited resolution, by which she had defended and righted herself, and the patriots of England proposed a measure of association, in order to stop the mad career of a ministry, whose infatuated conduct they truly declared, if persisted in, must have occasioned our political dissolution. The county of York took the lead in this promising and important step, and the example was followed by Westminster. The meeting was held in the hall of that city, of which Mr. Fox was unanimously chosen chairman. He delivered a forcible and argumentative oration to a vast assemblage of persons, who listened to him with rapture, and followed him with bursts of applause. He commenced his speech in a manner which never can be forgotten, not merely for his glowing eloquence, of which he can have no rival, but the forcible and happy manner in which he

invests his auditory with the subject matter of his discourse. He said, "Were you, gentlemen, to ask every member, as he passes through this hall to the House of Commons, what he thought of the measures, and what of the honesty and wisdom of ministers, he would tell you he detested and despised them. Yet, ten to one, the very same member would be instructed, by the nod of authority, to vote on whatever question the minister inclined. This corruption, which the profligacy of parliament has rendered so formidable and so universal, contains within itself the baleful source of its own continuance." As the ministers of that day exerted all their influence through the newspapers at their disposal, to represent those meetings as seditious, and the petitions they produced, as dangerous, Mr. Fox particularly dwelt upon their constitutionality, and of their beneficial tendency, "It is affirmed," (said he) "that petitions lead to anarchy and confusion. They do not. Their consequence is the very reverse. They tend to prevent every sort of public mischief, to avert the downfall of the empire, to restore us to harmony and unanimity, and to recover our national consequence and tranquillity by vigour, exertion, and success. 'But this is not a time to embarrass government.' Is that then the object of these petitions? No! Their aim is œconomy, and œconomy is giving new supplies to government. All that can be saved from the sink of corruption will thus contribute to public service, give additional strength to our arms, and enable us to maintain, with spirit and effect, the dreadful and unequal struggle in which we are engaged. We are told 'this is not a time for these complaints, or this reformation.' What! is not the moment of necessity the moment of relief? When is œconomy most seasonable but when pressed for supplies? We now feel our wants. We are in need of every aid that ingenuity can invent. We have occasion for all the money that can be raised. The measure would be criminal indeed, were we contriving how to burthen the people with more taxes; but we wish to answer the demands of the state,—not by additional impositions, but by a frugal application of what we already possess." From

that which has so recently happened, it might appear, that no language could be more appropriate at this time, to the purpose of exposing and checking that venality and selfishness, which here of late so much disgraced the higher departments of the government. Nothing but the determined and temperate resolution of the people in the dangerous crisis we have been speaking of, saved the country at that time, and nothing less can rescue it from the perils with which it is now surrounded. Mr. Fox roused in them that happy and successful energy then, and he will no doubt do it again in time of equal need. We never have had in the memory of man, in the records of history, so powerful a foe to contend with as now. It is in vain, it is puerile, to think of overcoming him by squibs and nicknames. He, no doubt, says we are welcome to call him tyrant and usurper. France has thought proper to confer the title of emperor on the man, who at the head of her armies, beat off her numerous enemies, and freed her from dismemberment. Nations in all ages have rewarded in the same manner those who have obtained them glory and empire. It was our unwise government drove France into that belligerent attitude we behold her at this moment; a wiser one will be able to render that attitude less imposing to others, less formidable to us; and of such a government, we think the statesman we are speaking of, entitled to be a member, even to be the head. It is difficult, while contemplating a character like the present, to restrain the imagination from conceiving him equal to every thing the country stands in need of. His love of it, his high sense of honour, his abhorrence of every thing which has a selfish tendency, appear to be satisfactory pledges for his conduct, to both the crown and the people. But as this is not intended to be a panegyric, but an impartial sketch of his life and actions, we will again proceed to the main design of taking up the pen. The great object of biography is general utility: we do not, therefore, conceive it necessary to enter into a minute detail of all those deviations from prudence and rectitude which Mr. Fox may have fallen into. The sway of fashion, the etiquette of custom, not

to say the pressure of necessity, may have impelled him to have recourse to those expedients for obtaining money, which a practically wise man would have avoided, and which at a more advanced period in life, he would himself have shunned and disdained. We have never heard of a studied act of dishonour on his part. His sale of the clerkship of the Pells in Ireland excited numerous aspersions on his character, and imputations both of ingratitude to the minister he had abandoned, and of personal indelicacy to the king. This transaction was entirely misconceived. He had neither been indebted to the minister nor the king for this place. It was a reversionary grant to his father, and he inherited it as a patrimony; all, therefore, that can be said on it is, that it had been better for him if he could have kept it. It is not denied that some of the tribe of Moses and Levi may have reproached him at times for not being so punctual in his payments; and perhaps if all the scenes were to be recited which have passed between him and these Israelites in his back parlour (which he facetiously denominated the Jerusalem chamber,) his enemies might be gratified by the edge it could not fail to give to their malice. It is not true that no man ever made a good public steward, who had been negligent of his own private affairs. There are numerous instances to the contrary on record. The vivacity of Mr. Fox has often exposed him to severe and unjust animadversions. Such, for instance, as that when his late brother's house was in flames, his offering to bet the noble owner which beam, which partition, or which chimney would next give way. We do not, nor would any one not over credulous believe the half of what has been said of this uncommon character. One thing is certain, because it is on record, that however much or little he might feel for the misfortunes of others, his own never made him gloomy.

“ Now though adversity must always be a bar to a young gentleman's career in politics, yet to have felt it, and be able to bend to the storm, allows a man to rise with more independence of mind than ever. At the time of the great, the virtuous Lord Rockingham's death, Mr. Fox,

from principle alone, quitted the administration of which he had been a member only as long as that nobleman had taken the lead in it. He said, what is honourable to him in the remembrance! "In resigning my situation as Secretary of State, I am not insensible to the convenience, I might almost say, to the necessity of its emolument; but in a case where honour or profit must be sacrificed, I could not be long in resolving what to do. I dictate to no gentleman how he is to act, but as there are several in the same predicament with myself, if they feel as I do, they will act as I do." His example was followed by several friends, for at this early period of his political life no man thought his honour unsafe in such hands. He never broke his word with his friend. We have before observed, that Mr. Fox's life has been a life of opposition, with very short interruptions. After the American war was censured and put an end to, every one must remember that a coalition between two great parties took place, which brought him again for a short time into power. This measure of our admired patriot was pretty generally censured, and being of that creed which thinks the few more likely to be wrong than the many, we disapproved of it ourselves. In the life of his arch rival, in a former number of our work, we spoke of the effect of his India bill, and how it removed Mr. Fox from power. Of this measure, however, we do not think his adversaries in the right, for the matter was not generally understood, and as the India Company were flattered by the bill of his opponent, and a certain cabal near the throne, kept up a great outcry, he was by mere intrigue and ministerial jockeyship thrown from his seat. It is not in Mr. Fox's nature to descend to littleness, nor adopt subterfuges for the attainment of the most desirable acquisition in nature. Mr. Pitt entered triumphantly with his new India bill as a passport, not for popular favour, for the people at no time ever understood the merit or demerit of either bill. The most discerning part of the public, however, have long since discovered which bill would have contributed the longest to keep our vast possessions in India, and which was fittest framed to enrich certain

persons at the heads of the respective boards of the concern.

If we might be allowed to run back a year or two in our history, we might shew our readers how the independent mind of Mr. Fox manifested itself on these occasions, where the hacknied minister gives up every private or friendly tie to the consideration of keeping in place. When the late Admiral Rodney was raised to a peerage for his successes over the French, Mr. Fox was censured for not preferring Lord Hood, as his colleague to represent the city of Westminster, rather than Sir Cecil Wray. This was made a matter of querulous debate in the House of Commons, by Lord Fielding and others, who scouted the idea of a minister appearing familiar and undisguised at an election. Mr. Fox met this, as he does every argument in which he is personally concerned, without the least reluctance. He said the professional merits of Lord Hood were above his praise. His lordship, who possessed the grateful acknowledgments of his country, could not be very ambitious, or at least stand in need of his individual tribute. It was, however, what he owed in common with all men, and what he was always ready to pay, a distinction founded on the most eminent personal desert. But surely it was not shewing this gallant officer any disrespect, in not giving him the preference to his old, but honourable friend, for whom he had determined to vote. The politics of Sir Cecil Wray were known and established, his parliamentary conduct had been decided on by the public; his principles and attachments were tried. The city of Westminster was electing not an admiral, but a representative; not one who had served his country at sea, but one qualified to serve her in parliament. He should therefore give his vote to the best of his judgment, but meant not by that circumstance any disrespect to any man. Nor would any honourable gentleman, who understood the great doctrine of election in this free country, differ from him in asserting, that no man could act a pure and honourable part, who, on such an occasion, did not divest

himself, as much as possible, of every kind and degree of partiality whatever. Apostrophising then to the person who occasioned the debate, he said, 'The noble lord seems offended at seeing my name in a newspaper, in connection with the resolutions of my fellow-electors, my constituents, and friends. After what has passed, in this House, about the franchises of revenue officers, I hope no man will say, that a Secretary of State necessarily relinquishes his right to vote as a member of the community at large. It has pleased his majesty to call me to the honour of serving the public as one of his ministers. But does this office divest me of my birthright as an Englishman? or is there no difference in exercising this right as a man, and acting officially as a minister? Whenever this House has any reason to call me to an account for such an improper interference, my conduct must be so pointedly censurable, that I shall not attempt to justify it. I am a minister to-day; to-morrow may reduce me to my former situation and circumstances. But, while I am an Englishman, and within the protection of those laws that originate in liberty, and have liberty for their object, this privilege must continue unalienable.'

"On this administration, The Rockingham Administration, as it is called, of which Mr. Fox was so conspicuous a member, it may not be improper to say something of its character. It exercised those principles which the friends of the people had always professed. It might be considered as a delegation from the people to repair those breaches which the influence of the crown had occasioned in the constitution. The members who composed it had too much dignity of sentiment to stoop to intrigue, too much virtue to use any other influence than that which resulted from the utility of their objects, and the rectitude of their plans. They confirmed the public confidence, by destroying parliamentary corruption; and satisfied the people, that the power of a constitutional minister is perfectly compatible with independence.

"Upon the termination of the administration we have been speaking of, we shewed how the nobleness of Mr.

Fox's great mind was superior to all the flattering temptations of emolument and power. We also slightly alluded to the coalition with the party whose measures he had long contested, whose blunders he had exposed, and whose official arrangements he had himself so lately overturned.

"The causes which more immediately produced that political connection are probably known only to the few, who may be in no haste to reveal them. Human conduct is sometimes not so happy as to carry its reasons on the face of it, and the real motives which produced most of those changes and revolutions which confound the pursuits and annihilate the distinctions of parties, are seldom avowed. But, perhaps the best excuse for that which is so ambiguous to us, will be found in the elegant work of this statesman's life. Its author says, 'The ultimate and supreme object of all political association is harmony and protection, not discord and licentiousness. Were all men implacable and unaccommodating, they never could unite, except by accident or on emergencies; and then only with an immediate view to rupture and hostility. But the propensity, or desire, which we entertain, in common with other animals, of mingling with our species, attaches us so strongly to society, that we are prone to indulge it at every inconvenience. The surrender of our opinions and prejudices, in a thousand instances, seems one of those tacit conditions, without which we can enjoy the protection, or share the advantages of no regular government whatever. Cordiality, and compliance with the various requisitions and circumstances of our respective situations, as members of one great aggregate body, are the first and most indispensable of all relative duties.'

"During the violent proceedings in the late parliament, when our present minister's sway might be described as unlimited, Mr. Fox thought it proper to secede from parliament altogether. His sagacious mind saw nothing was to be gained to the country by his attendance in the house, and something might be for ever lost to himself if he continued in a situation where he was liable to be provoked to say what might be misconstrued by three fourths of his hearers.

To those who did not approve such a step, he gave the best reason possible. He never affected to be in possession of an antidote against the common imbecility of humanity. He acknowledged that he is as liable to error, and even to eccentricities of opinion, as any man; but the purity of his intentions and the independence of his mind were rights which he had determined to preserve at all hazards, which he would not yield to the humour or solicitude of his best friends, of all the electors in Great Britain, of a majority of the whole world, and which he would not part with but with his life. These are the sentiments of a great, of an independent mind; they are the best security for any confidence which can be placed in their possessor. We believe some part of the leisure hours of Mr. Fox at this time was employed in composing a history of the house of Stuart.

“ Mr. Fox has always been distinguished as a member of the Whig Club, and has on particular occasions made such a speech as has been considered his own opinion of public measures, and the conduct he thought the wisest to be pursued out of parliament for obtaining that reformation of abuses which he has never lost sight of. The Whigs are a numerous, respectable and powerful body, whose principles are dictated by the purest liberty. Under the administration of Mr. Pitt, some violence has been done to them as a body, from his resentment to two or three of their members, who had uttered sentiments which wounded his pride.

“ The most invidious of Mr. Fox’s opposers have endeavoured to cast a shade over his character, for having accepted of a gratuitous subscription from his friends; but of all the pensions that ever were granted to patriots for services rendered to their country, this is surely the most honourable! Not a shilling was subscribed, but by men who were acknowledgedly attached to the liberties of their country; who did themselves more honour by this deed, than they could possibly confer by any sum, however large, they wrote their names against. If this is being a pensioner, what good man would not wish to be on such a list!

“ Mr. Fox is sometimes vehement in discourse, but this

vehemence does not in the least correspond with his disposition in private life, where he is gentle and affable: it arises wholly from his education, and a strong sense of what he considers his public duty. Vehemence has always been the distinction of democratic orators.

"We do not know that in sketching the life of a statesman, it is necessary to speak of his attachment to the fair sex. All that can be said of him on this subject will only do him honour. It is not likely that so ardent a mind could be destitute of a passion which has predominated in the commanders of armies, of empires, and in the sublimest characters. He has, after the example of a noble marquis in India, given his hand where his heart was long enjoyed, and the conduct of both ladies is held amiable and exemplary.

"His charming verses to the beautiful Mrs. Crewe, will shew, with exquisite justness and delicacy of thought, the state of his elegant mind while gazing on female excellence.

"The author thinks he cannot better conclude this interesting sketch than by transcribing a few words from the learned author of the never to be forgotten preface to *Belendenus*. 'When I contemplate the unworthy fortune which has attended this most exalted character, I am indignant from the memory of the past, and full of grief from the expectation of the future. He himself, however, may proudly claim the public gratitude; for in the midst of calamity, which menaces the security of the most deserving citizens, he consoles himself with the consciousness of his integrity, with the fair and undeluding hope, that posterity will render justice to his fame.'

Extract

Extract from the Monthly Magazine for September,

1806.

"CHARLES JAMES FOX, the third son of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, by Georgina, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Richmond, was born on the 13th of January, O. S. in the year 1749. From his birth he was the darling of his father, and the family having just lost his elder brother Henry, he, of course, experienced much indulgence. Indeed, this partiality was carried to a great, and perhaps an unpardonable length; for nothing was refused to him, and all the servants of the family were at length accustomed to pay the most obsequious obedience to his commands, however whimsical or capricious.

"Notwithstanding this, his education was not neglected; and as Montaigne's father was particularly anxious that he should be instructed in the dead languages at an early period of his life, so it was the wish of Lord Holland (for he had obtained a peerage soon after the accession of his present Majesty) that his son should be instructed at one and the same time in two living ones: he was accordingly taught French from his cradle, and spoke it while a boy with still greater fluency than English.

"As he was intended for public life, so he received a public education, and was sent to Eton, when that school had attained a high degree of celebrity, under the auspices of Edward Barnard, M. A. who became head master in 1754.

"At the age of thirteen he distinguished himself by his exercises, which reflect great credit on his precocious talents, and some of his juvenile friends even then contemplated him as a future statesman and orator. While his contemporaries, Storer and Hare, acquired great fame, the former by his verses beginning

'Vos valete & plaudite,'

and the latter by his

‘ Turnum ad certamen itura alloquitur Lavinia,’

young Fox attained high reputation by his

‘ Vocat labor ultimus,’

composed about the year 1761, his

‘ I, fugias, celeri volitans per nubila cursu,’

written in 1764, and his

‘ Quid miri faciat Natura,’

followed by a Greek dialogue, in 1765. We refer the curious to the ‘ Musæ Etonensis: seu Carminum Delectus,’ for the particulars.

“ From Eton Mr. Fox removed to Hertford College, Oxford, where he also distinguished himself by his talents, and Dr. Newcome, his tutor, was afterwards rewarded with the Primacy of Ireland for his services on this occasion. After remaining there some time, he was immediately sent on his travels, according to the absurd custom of that day, by which an Englishman was bound to be better acquainted with the manners, fashions, and productions of every other country in Europe than his own. It will be scarcely supposed, by those who have seen Mr. Fox, or examined his dress at any time during the last twenty years, that he had been once celebrated as a *beau garçon*; but the fact is, that at this period he was one of the most fashionable young men about town, and there are multitudes now living who still recollect his *chapeau bras*, his red-heeled shoes, and his blue hair powder.

“ Meanwhile, his father, still keeping the original object in view, determined to inspire him with a taste for public business, and accordingly, in the beginning of 1768, he was returned for Midhurst, in the county of Sussex. Two things are remarkable on this occasion; the first is, that, like the celebrated Waller, he became a member of the House of Commons before he attained the legal age: the second, that Midhurst was one of those very boroughs which

he himself seems afterwards to have considered a nuisance in a free country.

“ As Lord Holland possessed the favour of Lord Bute, and enjoyed the confidence of his present Majesty, the career of public employments lay open to his son. Accordingly, he had been only two years in parliament when, on the 13th of February, 1770, he became a member of the Admiralty Board, at the time when the celebrated Admiral Sir Edward, afterwards Lord Hawke, presided there. On May 6, 1772, he resigned that situation, and on the 9th of January, 1773, was nominated a Commissioner of the Treasury.

“ At this period his political principles appear to have been strictly in unison with those of his father, and he was often afterwards reminded by his adversaries that the doctrines advanced by him in the case of the printers who had been imprisoned, were rather unfavourable to the principles of liberty, while his assertion, ‘ that the voice of the people was only to be heard in the House of Commons,’ was controverted by the whole tenor of the latter part of his life.

“ The reign of the passions now commenced, and swept away his fortune in the torrent ; he was also doomed, nearly at the same time, to be deprived of his employment ; for having given offence to Lord North, who was then First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, that nobleman formed a new Board, and having mentioned this circumstance in a laconic note, added, somewhat ironically, ‘ that he did not see Mr. Fox’s name in the list of members.’

“ Anterior to this period, the extraordinary talents of Mr. Fox had only been known to his particular friends, but a field was, from this moment, opened for their display, which finally led to the most astonishing results. Happily, he had not pledged himself on the grand colonial question respecting taxation independent of representation, so that he rose in the House of Commons to debate on the subject of the American war free and unincumbered. He had hitherto but little studied the nature and end of a free government, in a political point of view ; and on this occasion the

author of the 'Sublime and Beautiful,' then in the zenith of his talents, was his monitor.

"Mr. Fox obtained the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the spring of 1782, while the Marquis of Rockingham, the most uniform, honest and upright statesman whom we have possessed since the Revolution, was nominated First Lord of the Treasury. Much was expected from, and much, it must be owned, was performed by a ministry, the most respectable of any that has been seen in England during the present reign. But the sudden death of the nobleman just mentioned, at once afflicted the nation and divided the friends of liberty, while the ex-minister and his adherents knew how to derive advantage from the storm, and reap benefit from the dismay that unhappily ensued.

"A dispute, as had been foreseen, immediately took place about who should succeed as First Lord of the Treasury. The candidates were, Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, and the present Duke of Portland; the favour of the King made the interest of the former preponderate, and a schism having ensued, Mr. Fox retired in disgust. As the Earl of Chatham was accustomed to observe 'that he would never be responsible for actions which he did not direct,' so the Secretary of State, when he withdrew, remarked, 'that he had determined never to connive at plans in private which he could not publicly avow.'

"Mr. Fox now resumed his old seat facing the Treasury bench, while his former colleague, the Earl of Shelburne, was busied in concluding a peace with France, Spain, Holland, and the United States of America. This nobleman, although possessed of great talents, forgot to adopt the most obvious means for ensuring his own safety. In the first place, he did not call a new parliament, and in the next, he omitted to secure the immense advantages resulting from the press, which, in a free country, will always influence, if not govern, the nation. But even as it was, he would have triumphed, but for a most odious, as well as impo-

litic coalition, supposed to be bottomed on ambition alone, and destitute of any common principle of union.

“The political success of Mr Fox and Lord North was, however, ephemeral. While they agreed in no one great measure for the common good, the nation seemed to unite as one man against them; and the King having become jealous of his prerogative, on the introduction of the ‘East India Bill,’ they were obliged to retire, but not until means had been resorted to, which no friend of the constitution could either advise or practise.

“A phenomenon in the political world now took place, for a stripling, just of age, upborne on the wings of royal and popular favour, succeeded to the post of Premier, and kept it up for upwards of twenty years. William Pitt, the younger son of that William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who had been the rival of Henry Fox, Lord Holland, to a greater portion of eloquence than his father added all his ambition. He was the first minister, since the accession of the House of Hanover, who dared to remain in place in defiance to the declared sense of the House of Commons; and such was the gullibility of the nation, that merely by using the magic sounds of peace and œconomy, he contrived to involve it in more wars and debts than any other statesman since the Conquest. Such was the opponent with whom the subject of this memoir had now to contend for the government of the empire; such the man who could only be prevailed upon to relinquish it with his life! Meanwhile, the tide of popularity had set in so strongly against Mr. Fox, that at the general election, in 1784, many of his friends lost their seats in the House of Commons*, and he himself was obliged to enter into a long and expensive contest for Westminster. He had originally been returned for that city by the voice of the inhabitants at large, and in direct opposition to the influence of the Northumberland and Newcastle families, backed by that of the Crown. Supported now by the Portland and Devonshire interests, he maintained a sharp and dubious struggle; but after the

* These were jocosely termed *Fox's martyrs*.

lapse of forty-seven days poll, he appeared at the close to have a majority of 235 votes in his favour. A scrutiny, however, was demanded and obtained by his adversaries, so that he would have been entirely excluded, for a time, from the House of Commons, had he not been returned through the friendship of Sir Thomas, now Lord Dundas, for a district of Scotch boroughs: but at length his triumph was complete, and a prosecution having been commenced against the High Bailiff, the latter was cast in damages to the amount of two thousand pounds.

"The next public affair in which we find him engaged, was the prosecution of Mr. Hastings; and it must be allowed, while the charges against the Governor General of India, on one hand, required, nay demanded investigation, that, on the other, the period of time to which the trial was protracted, appears to have been equally impolitic and unjust. Alas! who will now think of impeaching successful delinquency, or dragging victorious oppression, by which the individual and the nation have alike profited, before the tribunal of the House of Peers?

"On two great occasions the talents of Mr. Fox proved eminently serviceable to the nation: one, when Mr. Pitt, at the instigation of the Court of Berlin, wished to wage an unprofitable war with Russia relative to the possession of Oczakow; the other, when, in the wantonness of power, he urged a contest with Spain. Experience has since proved that these objects were contemptible, and the finger of posterity will point with scorn to that page of our history, when a minister who derived all his credit from his management of the finances, laboured to impoverish the nation by two ridiculous, but bloody conflicts, one of which had for its object the preservation of the Turkish frontier, and the other a participation in the trade of cat-skins and sea-otters!

"In 1788, Mr. Fox, worn out, and perhaps disgusted with public business, repaired to the continent, and after spending a few days with Gibbon, the historian, at Lausanne, entered the classic regions of Italy. But he was suddenly recalled, in consequence of the alarming illness

of the King, and the business of the Regency Bill was so ably managed by his rival, who now perceived it to be for his interest to stand on constitutional grounds, that the Opposition rather lost than gained popularity by this measure.

“ We now approach an awful and memorable epoch, that which gave birth to the French Revolution! On this occasion Mr. Fox declared himself strongly, uniformly, and decisively on the side of liberty. The two great rival chiefs, who agreed in nothing else, at first cordially united in this cause, and while the one presaged a long peace, the extinction of our national debt, and the prosperity of the empire, the other gloried in beholding a whole people rescued from the most oppressive servitude, and, at the same time, augured the most auspicious results in favour of the human race.

“ It were greatly to be wished that the grand political experiment attempted in France had been left to its own fate. The intervention of the neighbouring states only served to arouse the warlike genius of a mighty people, to call forth the numerous resources of a rich and extensive empire, and finally to establish a military despotism, that, after overturning every land-mark of civil liberty, has nearly extinguished the independence of Europe.

“ Mr. Pitt is supposed to have been at first dragged into the contest with reluctance. No sooner had he entered on it, however, than, as usual, he did not hesitate at the means by which he was to secure the end in view. Incorruptible himself, he opened the public purse without scruple to others.

“ On this occasion the mind of the Premier stooped to little personalities; for, not content with triumphing, he was determined also to insult, and the name of Mr. Fox was accordingly struck out of the list of Privy Counsellors!

“ The latter, on this, as on all other occasions, proved magnanimous in adversity. To the clamours relative to his disaffection he calmly replied, ‘ That he never had approved of the excesses of the French Revolution, and that he was alike the enemy of all absolute forms of government,

whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy, and approved only of a mixed government like our own.'

" Nearly at the same time he had conciliated the affections of a large portion of the people, by declaring himself a friend to a reform of the House of Commons; and when Mr. Flood's proposition to that effect was brought forward, he boldly avowed his conversion. On the other hand, his adversary, who had solemnly pledged himself to the very measure which he now opposed, was reduced to a most mortifying dilemma.

" As it was a leading principle in the conduct of Mr. Fox, that, without the most urgent occasion, peace was the best policy on the part of a commercial nation, so, from the commencement of the revolutionary war, he perpetually maintained, 'that we ought to husband our resources.' In 1794 he deprecated the idea of continuing hostilities without any settled object. After condemning the position, 'that, while the Jacobin system existed, no peace could take place with France,' he asked, 'provided honourable terms could be obtained, whether it would not be more advisable to trust to our caution and vigilance for the preservation of the country, than to continue hostilities with an enormous waste of blood and treasure, but not more productive of security than a pacification? Allowing the danger to be equal in either case, that which freed us from an immense charge was questionless preferable to the other. It was vain (he added) to calculate the resources of the French at the rate of a commercial proportion. They had no commerce; they derived no expectations from any other funds than the productions of their soil; the depreciation of their paper money had not depressed their affairs; and whenever men were willing and resolved to bear with hardships, historical experience had proved that their resources were inexhaustible.

" " In war it sometimes happens (continued he) that courage and rage supply the place of ordinary arms. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, observes, that iron commands gold, and when their *assignats* fail, the French may still

support hostilities by the plunder of their neighbours. It must be allowed, indeed, that this is but a fleeting resource, yet when a nation has abandoned habits of peace and industry, and acquired the views and manners of predatory warriors, it is a resource that enables it to spread desolation far and near.'

"The latter part of these remarks proved strictly prophetic, and now, when, in the fulness of time, we are enabled to judge calmly of events, it must be owned that the prosecution of the war was disserviceable to our own interests and ruinous to those of our allies. Fully impressed with this notion, and, at the same time, conscious that he could not oppose the golden torrent that issued from the Treasury bench, he withdrew from Parliament for a while, and evinced a wish to retire altogether from public business. It has even been said, that his address to the electors of Westminster was actually penned, and that he had formed the determined resolution of abjuring politics for ever.

"But the entreaties of his friends, and the occurrence of new and singular events, happily prevented this measure. We accordingly find him once more at the head of an opposition, feeble in point of numbers, but truly formidable in respect to talents and abilities.

"At length, after enjoying, and, in some measure, revelling in power during eighteen long years, Mr. Pitt voluntarily retired from office, and Mr. Addington, since created Viscount Sidmouth, concluded the treaty of Amiens, on which occasion he received the support of Mr. Fox and all his friends. The latter may be said to have now experienced that species of triumph which arises out of political anticipation, for as the terms were not so good as might have been obtained in 1796, it was obvious that all the miseries, calamities, blood and treasure, wasted to no manner of purpose during the preceding six years, would have been avoided, had his warning voice been but listened to.

"When a renewal of the contest was meditated, Mr. Fox expressed himself avowedly hostile to that measure: 'I do contend (said he) that the continuance of peace is infinitely desirable. I feel its importance in the strongest man-

ner, and I am not ashamed to avow an opinion for which I have not unfrequently been exposed to ridicule. I now again explicitly declare, that I consider the preservation of national honour to be the only legitimate cause of war.

“ ‘ This doctrine I hold (continues he) on the plain principle that honour is inseparably connected with self-defence. If it can be proved to me that the national honour has been insulted, or the national dignity disgraced, I will, without hesitation, declare my opinion, which is, that it would be a fair legitimate cause for re-commencing hostilities. I must, however, hear a very strong case made out before I can give my vote for replunging the country in those disasters which a calamitous contest had produced, and from which we have been so recently delivered *.’ ”

“ It was in strict consistency with this notion, that, when the royal message was brought down declaratory of hostilities, Mr. Fox expressed his opinion at large, both against the war as unnecessary, and against the crisis at which it took place, as eminently impolitic. This problematical measure soon proved fatal to Mr. Addington’s administration, and the reins of government having dropped from his hands, were immediately seized by Mr. Pitt.

“ It was now imagined by some, that the critical state of public affairs, and the common safety of the empire, would have produced a coalition between the new minister and his ancient adversary; but while the former expressed his own readiness to comply, he, at the same time, hinted that insurmountable obstacles had occurred *in a certain quarter*.

“ * The following political maxim inculcated by an old writer, is somewhat similar, and proves the coincidence between great minds, viz.—

“ ‘ That kingdoms are preserved by reputation, which is well their strongest support in peace, as their chiefest safety in time of war; when once they grow despised, they are either subject to foreign invasion or domestic troubles.’ ”

“ After an opposition of twenty-two years—a period unexampled, in point of duration, in the annals of this country—Mr. Fox, in 1806, resumed his situation as Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, which he had surrendered in 1783—4. Soon after this event, the conduct of the King of Prussia excited general indignation. Not content with seizing on Hanover, he excluded the English commerce not only from his own dominions, but also from every port which he could either terrify or influence. On this, the new Minister published a spirited declaration, and, at the same time, adopted measures for blockading all the ports, and intercepting all the trade of the House of Brandenburg.

“ But his mind was never for a single instant diverted from what may be considered as the grand object of his life. He had conceived an idea, from the very beginning, that the war was ill-timed, and no sooner had he obtained the seals, than he determined, if possible, to put an honourable termination to it. As he had never made use of any intemperate language, or displayed any personal antipathies, the enemy of course could have no objection to such a mediator; but just at the critical period, when it was supposed that most of the difficulties had been removed, the man on whose fate the peace of the world, in no small degree, depended, was snatched away from his friends and the world by a confirmed dropsy.

“ As the political life and opinions of Mr. Fox have been already detailed, it now remains to say something of him as a man of letters. His *magnum opus*, which had engaged his attention for years, was a History of the period which immediately preceded and followed the Revolution; a subject alike congenial to his feelings and his habits. We understand that he was offered a very large sum of money for it, by a spirited bookseller, about three years since; but it was then, and is still, we fear, in an unfinished state.

“ His ‘Letter to the Electors of Westminster,’ published in 1793, and which passed through no less than thirteen editions within a few months, may be in some measure

considered as a legacy to posterity, as it contains a full and ample apology for his conduct during the former war with France.

“ Of his compositions while at Eton, the whole have been enumerated in chronological order; and in respect to his fugitive poetry, we shall here affix a list of such articles as have been seen by us.

“ 1. His Verses to Mrs., now Lady, Crewe, beginning with

“ ‘ Where the loveliest expression to feature is join’d,’ &c.

“ 2. An Invocation to Poverty :

“ ‘ O Poverty! of pale consumptive hue,’ &c.

“ 3. Lines addressed to a lady who declared ‘ that she did not care three skips of a l—se for me.’ We do not recollect the first line, but the *point* is, that ‘ the lady of course had in her mouth what was always *running in her head*.’

“ 4. Verses addressed to Mrs. Fox, on his attaining the age of fifty : these are highly complimentary to that lady.

“ And, 5. Verses inscribed to his nephew, Lord Holland.

“ Of his single speeches, published we rather suppose without his cognizance or revision, the following is the best list we have been able to procure :

“ 1. Speech to the Electors of Westminster, July 17, 1782.

“ 2. Speech in Parliament on the East India Bill, 1783.

“ 3. Speech on the Irish Resolutions, 1784.

“ 4. Reply to Mr. Pitt.

“ 5. Two Speeches in behalf of a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, March 2, 1790.

“ 6. Speech on Mr. Whitbread’s Motion on the Russian Armament, March 1, 1792.

" 7. Speech at the Whig Club, December 4, 1792.

" 8. Speech at the opening of Parliament, Dec. 13, 1792.

" 9. Speech on the King's Message to the House of Commons, on the execution of Louis XVI. January 31, 1793.

" 10. Speech on the Declaration of War by France, Feb. 10, 1793.

" 11. Speech on Mr. Grey's Motion for a Reform in Parliament, May 7, 1793.

" 12. On the State of the Nation, March 24, 1795.

" And, 13. A Sketch of the Character of the late Most Noble Francis Duke of Bedford, as delivered in his Introductory Speech to a Motion for a new Writ for Tavistock, on the 16th of March, 1802*.

" In the character of Mr. Fox, the most conspicuous part was that frankness or candour, which distinguished him from most other men, and from all other politicians. Bold and resolute in public; in private life he was peculiarly mild and gentle, bland in his manners, and captivating in his conversation. Thus, while in St. Stephen's Chapel he assailed corruption with Stentorian voice and Herculean energy; at St. Anne's-hill he exhibited all the urbanity, and cultivated all the blandishments, of domestic retirement.

" Possessed of a sanguine temperament, his follies at one period of his life, like his virtues at another, were carried to extremes. He sacrificed his nights and his days, his health and his fortune, to the worship of the blind goddess;

" * This interesting speech was printed in the Monthly Magazine for April, 1802, (No. 85, p. 251) from Mr. Fox's own manuscript, now in the possession of the publisher. Mr. Fox was pleased to observe at the same time, " that he had never before attempted to make a copy of any speech which he had delivered in public." The Letter to the Electors of Westminster, and this speech, are therefore the only prose compositions avowedly given to the world.

and not content with his triumphs in St. Stephen's Chapel, he aspired to give laws to Newmarket.

"At length, abjuring the follies of the day, he began to use the arms, and practise the arts, of a great statesman. We have already beheld him combating the authors of the American war, in conjunction with a chosen band of patriots, who with himself are now no more; but whose reputation, like his own, will float down the stream of time, and only be forgotten when their country ceases to exist as an independent nation.

"During the conflict that sprung out of the French revolution, he fought at the head of an embattled legion, some of the members of which have ceased to exist, while others still survive him.

"No private man, since the time of Cromwell, has acted so conspicuous a part in England as Charles Fox. But the former headed armies, commanded fleets, exhausted a treasury, and overturned the state; while the latter, by means of the *mens divinior*—by talents alone, attained a high degree of authority, and seemed born expressly to serve and to save his country.

"It was assuredly something out of the ordinary course of events to behold the junior branch of a new family surrounded by the Russels, the Howards, and the Cavendishes, directing all that was venerable among our patriots; and although destitute of the gifts of fortune himself, commanding the services of the most wealthy of the aristocracy. By the nation in general he was beloved; by the inhabitants of Westminster he was adored as 'the man of the people;' for every one considered him in the light either of a benefactor or a protector, while the frowns of royalty, which would have appalled and withered an ordinary man, served only to render *him* more conspicuous, who, in the energetic language of Dr. Johnson, 'had divided the nation with the king.'

"Amidst our sorrows for the loss of an individual, let us still glory in the liberties of our country. Where despotism reigns, kingdoms are generally governed by the base arts of courtiers, or the interested caprices of mis-

tresses; but in a free state, genius, united with eloquence, is capable of producing the most beneficial, as well as the most wonderful effects.

“Modern History has been too prodigal of its praise to men of the sword; and he who has conquered in one or two battles, has been fondly crowned with victorious laurels, and greeted with applauding Pæans. The ancients, with their usual discernment, voted civic crowns to those who had saved the lives of their fellow citizens.—How many crowns are due then to the man, who has always wished to economize the blood and treasure of the nation; who sheltered us from the horrors of two unnecessary wars; and who has contributed not a little to shorten the duration of three others, which would never have taken place could his warning voice have been heard, or his prophecying spirit been listened to!

“So far as concerns his own glory, Fox has lived sufficiently long; but his existence has been far too short for the good not only of his own country, but of Europe. It is to be lamented that he was overtaken by a mortal disease at a moment when he had laid the foundation-stone of a Temple dedicated to Peace. Had he been spared but a year, perhaps but a few months, longer, he might have completed his brilliant career, by restoring the constitution to its ancient splendour; by an annihilation of the disgraceful traffic in the representation of the people; and by expunging from the statute-books those new-fangled acts which disfigure and disgrace it.

“The close of his life was to the full as radiant as its meridian splendour. The three last public acts were worthy of the man—of the hero. By one, he laboured to repair the outrages of war; to obtain a breathing-time to our allies; and by an extension of our commerce, to afford, if necessary, to his native country all the advantages of a renovated contest, without the danger of drying up the sources of her wealth. By another, he attempted to remove all legal disabilities arising out of religion, to unite more closely the interests of Ireland, with those of England; and thus, by an extension of common rights, and a participa-

tion of common benefits, wisely to render that which has always been considered as the weakest, the strongest portion of the empire.

“ By a third and last, he obtained a solemn declaration from both houses of Parliament, for the abolition of the slave trade; and thus closed his life with a measure, which while it rescues humanity from reproach, shall teach thousands yet unborn to venerate the name of their DELIVERER!

“ In his person and manner, Mr. Fox somewhat resembled the sage of Ithaca: he was short and corpulent, his chest was capacious, his shoulders broad, his hair dark and thick, his eye-brows black and bushy, his complexion tinged with a yellow hue. In his youth he was celebrated for his agility; but of late years he had become obese and unwieldy, while his lower extremities sometime past began to exhibit the diagnostics of that disease which proved fatal to him, at six o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday the 13th of September, 1806, without pain, and almost without a struggle, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

“ He expired at the house of his friend the Duke of Devonshire, in the arms of his nephew, Lord Holland, at Chiswick-House, hitherto celebrated as one of the masterpieces of Palladio's art; but which will henceforth be viewed with a new degree of interest by Englishmen, as the spot within the sanctuary of which a Fox uttered his last sigh.

“ His face and figure will be long recollected; for there was something uncommon in both. His bust has been repeatedly carved by the chissel of Nollekens; the last labours of Sir Joshua were bestowed on his portrait; while Jones is supposed to have excelled in a mezzotinto likeness, and Smith and Opie in whole lengths; these are the more transitory emblems of the person; for to whom is it given to depict the animated flashes of his eye in the course of an argument, or the menacing action of his hand during debate, to describe the wisdom of his head, the kindness of his heart, or the eloquence of his tongue?

“ No man has ever been more ready to bestow praise

on others; and in return, he himself has been gratified with the eulogiums of almost every distinguished person of the present age. The great Lexicographer, although pensioned by the king, and unfriendly to his principles, avowed his attachment to his person, and his admiration of his genius. His schoolfellow, the Earl of Carlisle, hailed the dawning talents of his youth; the classical pen of Dr. Parr offered a sincere tribute to the wonders of his maturer age; the Duchess of Devonshire, surrounded by the Loves and Graces, hailed him as the brightest ornament of his age; while the Duke of Bedford, at whose name modern nobility turns pale, installed his bust in the unfinished Temple dedicated by him to Liberty, and requested of his successor, on his death-bed, that it might be completed for its reception.

“ His corpse, entombed with our kings, statesmen and heroes, will repose within the precincts of that city which he so long represented. His name will be mentioned with those of Hampden, of Russel, and of Sydney; and History, after making a generous allowance for the foibles of early youth, will enshrine the fame of his better days in one unclouded blaze of glory.

“ He who now mingles the tears of an individual with those of nations, and strews the yet unburied remains of a sage and patriot, with a few wild flowers plucked by a hasty and trembling hand, cannot conclude better than in the language of a great orator, as applied to one of the heroes of antiquity:

“ ‘ OMNIBUS QUI PATRIAM CONSERVAVERINT, ADJUV-
VERINT, AUXERINT, CERTUS EST IN CÆLO ET DEFINITUS
LOCUS, UBI BEATI ÆVO SEMPITERNO FRUANTUR *.’ ”

“ * Cicero, Som. Scip.”

The

The following Note is extracted from page 154, on line 288, part 2, of a Poem called The Epics of the Ton.

“CHARLES JAMES FOX derived from nature a vigorous capacity, which was early improved by a liberal education. His conceptions were rapid, his fancy brilliant: the indulgence of his father gave him an open and fearless address; and a continual intercourse with the circles of gaiety and fashion rendered his expression unconstrained and elegant. He seemed born an orator, and destined by nature to shine in the political sphere. His temper, frank, candid, and generous, was calculated to gain him many friends, and to disarm the animosity of every enemy. There was nothing in it to inspire awe, or to excite mistrust; no one was thrown to an uncomfortable distance. He seemed born to live with ease and good humour, and to communicate these agreeable feelings to all around him.

“His more advanced education tended to blast the fruitful plants which shot up in so rich a soil, and to give room and luxuriance to every weed. His youth was a continued course of dissipation. Those hours of vigour and ardour, which ought to have been spent in the labours of the closet, were devoted to the gaming table, the amour, the midnight debauch. The habits thus contracted gradually became irresistible. He could only by starts confine himself to serious studies: he needed dissipation to refresh his mind: he became incapable of that steady attention to business, without which it is impossible to conduct the affairs of a great and active nation.

“His introduction into political life was not peculiarly fortunate. His father, indeed, enjoyed the reputation of abilities, yet he had sunk under the talents, and still more under the integrity of Chatham. But if Fox derived some stain from his parentage, his own conduct seemed not likely

to remove the blot; and while men admired the brilliancy of his parts, they wondered and lamented that so much genius should be united to so little prudence or virtue.

“ The unfavourable occurrences, which crossed his political career, might spring from accident; but they derived new force from the warmth, or the facility of his own temper. During the American war, he had derived much popularity from his resolute and violent opposition to Lord North: but when this nobleman and his friends passed over to the party of Fox, and were by him received with his usual facility and frankness, the people looked upon their patriot as guilty of the most unprincipled dishonesty, in thus cordially coalescing with the men whom he had just pursued with the most opprobrious invective. The odium of the coalition continued ever afterwards to hang, like a noxious vapour, upon his brightest beams.

“ When Great Britain interfered to put a stop to the conquering arms of Russia, the friends of monarchy were alarmed and incensed, when they saw Fox not only oppose administration at home, but even carry his zeal so far as to send abroad an accredited agent to thwart the views of government. During the lamented illness of the sovereign, his activity drew down upon him a new load of indignation. Men could not look upon the warmest friendship for the son, as a sufficient excuse for deserting his duty to the father.

“ The French Revolution followed close. Fox, in conformity with his principles, applauded the first movements of freedom, and the nation united in his sentiments. The excesses which ensued altered the general feelings; the best principles became abhorred, when found in the mouths of atrocious villains: and in the ideas of the multitude, Fox became associated with those who spoke the same language, however different their intentions and actions. The consternation afterwards diffused throughout the kingdom, and the vast popularity of his great political antagonist, gave a still deeper hold to these impressions; and no one seemed worthy of public trust, who did not revile Fox as an enemy to his country. His own imprudence was, indeed,

scarcely less fatal to his interests, than were the arts of his adversaries. He uttered expressions too violent at any time, but foolish in the extreme amidst the ferment which then prevailed. His patriotism became more suspected, when he declared his country to be in extreme danger, and then took the unmanly resolution of abandoning her councils, and consigning himself to ease and retirement. These acts are indeed attributed to a facility which led him to yield to men whose opinions he should have despised: But this is only to defend his heart at the expence of his head.

“The same lamentable facility suddenly eclipsed the rays which began to break forth at his decline. After twenty years of opposition, he came into power without sacrificing his honour; but his first speech in the House of Commons, as a minister, was employed in the introduction of a bill to enable a colleague to possess, at once, two important, rich, and incompatible offices. He seemed to feel his own degradation: He seemed conscious that he was setting at defiance all his former professions, and trampling to dust all the glory of his life.

“The mind of Fox was naturally open and liberal; and his principles bore the stamp of his disposition. He seemed from conviction the assertor of popular rights, and a decided enemy to arbitrary government. Yet his principles could not at all times resist either his facility or his warmth; and some portion at least of his consistency may be attributed to his permanent situation as leader of opposition. He was accused of rank democracy; but with much injustice. He entered political life among the aristocracy, and with them closed his career. It was by their prevailing influence against the crown that he twice became a minister; and by them he was supported throughout. He was a friend to extensive suffrage; but he knew that the votes of the lower orders must ever be at the command of the higher. In power, he had always the interest of the aristocracy in view. He endeavoured to throw the whole patronage of India into the hands of the parliament: He supported the property tax on the principle that men

ought, as far as possible, to be retained in the station which they have once occupied; and that it is quite as reasonable that the lower orders should be starved, as that the higher should be deprived of their usual enjoyments.

“The knowledge of Fox was chiefly of that description which may be drawn from conversation, or from books of easy perusal. In a country whose prosperity hinges on the arrangement of its industry, whose government depends on the skilful support of public credit, he acknowledged himself ignorant of political oeconomy and finance. He was not deeply versed in official business; nor had pursued any subject with the accuracy of scientific investigation. But in the political history of his country, in the laws relative to its constitution, in the dispositions and views of foreign powers, in the arts which conciliate and lead mankind, his knowledge was perhaps unrivalled by any modern politician.

“His eloquence was the grand foundation of his fame. He had to struggle with the disadvantages of appearance. His figure was unpromising, his motions ungraceful, his voice shrill, and his enunciation, at the commencement of his speech, indistinct and hesitating. Every thing announced that all was unpremeditated, and that the hearer had nothing to expect but the effusions of the moment. But as he proceeded, this circumstance became a source of admiration. As he grew warm, his words began to flow; his enunciation became clear and forcible; his countenance glowed with ardour, and every motion spoke the force of his feelings. He hastened directly to his subject: It seemed to occupy his whole soul, to call forth every power of imagination and judgment: He was irresistibly hurried on by his emotions, and his hearers were hurried along with him. In whatever he said there was an air of candour and earnestness, which carried in it scarcely less persuasion than his words. By the rapidity and strength of his conceptions he was enabled to place his subject in the clearest light; and he had an unusual facility in calling to his assistance the resources with which books or conversation had supplied him. His wit was very successful, and his sarcasms pecu-

liarly poignant: they were not delivered with bitterness, and they seemed always to fall justly on the head of their object.

"Yet his eloquence was not free from the vices, to which it was naturally subjected by his habits. His orations were never regular, never skilfully arranged. The hearer, borne along by his warmth, did not discover his desultory transitions, but on recollection, he found it difficult to retrace the maze which he had traversed. As he always trusted to the moment, his exhibitions depended much on the state of his spirits; and it was not uncommon to see him labour through a hesitating, devious discourse, which scarcely retained the attention of his hearers.

"Even those, who disliked his politics most, admired his disposition. His friends felt towards him a personal attachment; and the open frankness of his manner often disarmed political animosity. He was regarded as the very model of a *true Englishman*.

"His inviolable attachment to peace was the noblest feature in his public character. Even his most determined enemies lamented his death, when they saw the negotiations which had owed their birth entirely to him, expire as our only Minister of Peace expired."

From Page 165.

"THY soul, which o'er dark deeds of state arose,
 "And spurn'd th' assassin as the worst of foes, 335
 "Half made the ruthless tyrant's hatred cease,
 "And half had lull'd the fever'd world to peace."

"*Line 335.*] The conduct of Fox towards the proposed assassin of Bonaparte gave a glorious refutation to the calumnies which had been propagated in France against the statesmen of England. They had been accused of hir-

ing assassins, of contriving infernal machines, of countenancing the most flagitious designs for the destruction of their enemies. But no sooner did an assassin present himself to Fox, than he caused the wretch to be secured, and sent immediate information to the bitterest foe of Great Britain. I should not, perhaps, have adverted particularly to this circumstance, had I not heard some persons, a-kin to the assassin, allege with a sneer, that Fox might have made a less boast of magnanimity; that he might have simply dismissed the fellow, without becoming guardian to the mortal enemy of his country."

Extract from Mr. Roscoe's Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the present War, &c.

"THE union of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox with that of their friends, encouraged the hope, not only of a speedy termination of hostilities, but of that steady and gradual amelioration in our domestic concerns, which, without alarming the fears of the weak, might satisfy the reasonable expectations of the country. Nor was much time suffered to elapse before measures were taken for realizing those expectations. In the month of February, 1806, an incident occurred, that afforded Mr. Fox an opportunity of displaying that character of rectitude and integrity of principle, which it is the first duty of every government to adhere to, and its chief honour to avow. An unprincipled wretch, pretending to be just arrived from France with matters of importance to communicate, obtained admission to Mr. Fox, and after a short conversation, disclosed to him a plan for assassinating the Ruler of France by fire-arms, from a house which had been hired for that purpose at Passy. Shocked at the atrocity of such a proposal, Mr.

Fox drove the villain from his presence ; giving orders at the same time to send him out of the kingdom. But not satisfied with this proof of his indignation, he wrote to M. Talleyrand on the 28th February, giving him an account of the whole transaction. The reply of the French Minister, dated 5th March, conveyed to Mr. Fox the thanks of Bonaparte, and an assurance that, ‘ he recognized, in the conduct of Mr. Fox, those principles of honour and virtue by which he had ever been actuated, and which had already given a new character to the war.’ On the same day M. Talleyrand transmitted, in another letter to Mr. Fox, an extract from a speech of the French Ruler to the Legislative Body, in which he openly expresses a wish for a termination of hostilities. ‘ I desire peace (said he) with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment ; I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens.’ By this correspondence the way was prepared for a new negotiation, under auspices highly favourable to a reconciliation between the two countries.

“ It cannot be denied that the conduct of Mr. Fox, in this transaction, confers the highest honour on his memory. His letter to Talleyrand is to be considered, as Mr. Fox himself doubtless considered it, with respect to itself alone, and independent of consequences. In giving information to the chief of the French government of an attempt to assassinate him, he had performed an honourable, but an indispensable duty. Whatever effect it might produce upon the mind of Bonaparte was foreign to his object. If it had been slighted and contemned, Mr. Fox would never have regretted the part he had acted. If it induced that spirit of reconciliation which a noble action is so well calculated to inspire, the result was natural, and could not be raised on a better foundation. Even the political opponents of Mr. Fox ought to have felt rightly on such a subject. They ought to have known, that it was no effort to his great and generous mind to reject the proposals of an avowed assassin. It is not on this account that he is intitled to our applause ; but it is because he had the virtue and

the courage to bring forwards into public life, and to exemplify in the most striking manner, one of the most important maxims of morality—that *it is never expedient to do evil in the hope of producing an eventual good*; because he could unite the speculative virtues of the closet with the public conduct of the statesman, and exhibit to the world a noble proof, that amidst the rage of national and individual animosity, the eternal laws of justice and of virtue were neither overthrown nor shaken.”

MR. STEWART, author of an elegant Poem called “the Resurrection,” after paying a just and solemn tribute of praise to the memory of Archdeacon Paley, Hussey Burgh, and Mr. Howard, writes of Mr. Fox as follows:—

“ WITH these, the Man his mourning Country’s Pride,
Whose Acts diffused Beneficence so wide;
Who strove to calm a warring World to Peace,
And bid the Horrors of Dissention cease!
From East to Western Worlds—where Indus glows,
Or wild Ohio’s beauteous current flows,—
Or where Emana’s hills of green appear,
Or Winds Slavonian chill the stunted year;
His gen’rous Soul, by distance unconfin’d,
Felt for the varied woes of human kind,
And toil’d with pious zeal and patriot worth,
To make the Olive shoot it’s scions forth.”

PAGE 91.

The following Note is subjoined by the Author.

“ CHARLES JAMES FOX, whose eloquence and commanding talents were uniformly directed to every hu-

mane and liberal object. The giant powers of his mind, far from being confined to any isolated spot, embraced the universe in their exertion. Asia, America, Europe and Africa, they have successively, and some of them successfully, advocated. His famous India Bill, his Plan of Conciliation to America, his recent endeavours to give Peace to Europe, and his death-bed Legacy of Liberty and Happiness to Africa—emblazon a recorded glory to his Memory as imperishable as the existence of virtue and principle.”

PAGE 234.

Extract from a Sermon preached at the Gravel-pit Meeting, Hackney, on Sunday, September 21, 1806, on occasion of the recent death of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox ; by Robert Aspland.

“ HE was a ZEALOUS and STEADY FRIEND TO THE LIBERTIES AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE. His love of freedom was the result of sound principles, not of warm passions merely ; hence, it did not die away with the fervour of youth, but was uniform and constant : it was moulded up with all his habits of thinking and acting. He considered Liberty as the natural right of all men, and as the peculiar birth-right of Englishmen, guaranteed to them by the political Constitution of their country ; and, therefore, he was invariably its champion and guardian ; protecting and defending it under a strong sense of duty, and, in doing so, superior to all anxiety, whether he pleased or displeased those whom his labours were intended to serve, whether he brought upon himself the brand of reproach, or earned the laurel of praise.

" His ardour in the sacred cause of freedom never carried him, at the same time, beyond the limits of MODERATION. His language was never inflammatory, his measures never precipitate. He knew that the same wise and free Constitution which secures the people's liberties, protects also the rights and prerogatives of the Sovereign. He considered that order is always a certain good, that change is frequently an evil. His moderation was the more virtuous on account of the peculiar circumstances in which he stood; he was at the head of a considerable political party, and great bodies, once set in motion, often move with dangerous rapidity, and easily take fire; he incurred, in consequence of his principles, an extraordinary degree of opprobrium and angry persecution, and persecution and opprobrium have sometimes overborne the patience of the most prudent, and as Solomon observes, made wise men mad; and he lived and took a part in troublesome times, when men's opinions were generally heated and warped by their passions, and when the nation was divided into two virulent parties, who ran into the widest extremes—extremes, equally distant from prudence and incompatible with freedom. Looking back upon the animosities and contentions of this period, those of us that were then most opposite in our notions and designs, shall now unite in praising his moderation, and in acknowledging that it was the offspring of wisdom. His wise and temperate conduct has established a model of patriotism, which will be appealed to, in all future periods of dissention and contest, by the lovers of their country.

" It is a truly honourable trait in the character of this ever-to-be-lamented statesman, that he was, at all times, the ADVOCATE, IN THE SENATE, OF JUSTICE AND HUMANITY.—Never, during the whole of his long parliamentary life, was his voice lifted up to justify oppression or persecution: Never did the injured or oppressed appeal to the British senate that he did not exert his noble eloquence on their behalf. He made the cause of all that were wronged his own; and, even where he failed, through the perverseness of the times, of procuring justice for them, he

in a measure compensated their sufferings by lending his great talents to their cause, and by drawing towards it the sympathy of mankind. In him, the most discordant sects and the most distant provinces found an ever ready defender and a generous patron: he pleaded (and with what strength of argument, what rich variety of illustration, what dignity of sentiment, what majesty of diction?) for the equitable privileges of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Dissenter; and he contended, with an eloquence alternately indignant and pathetic, for the rights of the harassed Irish, the oppressed Hindoos, and the suffering Africans. He brought into office the same just and benevolent principles which he had maintained while out of power. One of the first acts of his late administration, (too short, alas! for his own glory and our happiness!) was a measure for the restriction of the Slave-Trade, and by his means, a solemn resolution was voted by the Senate and laid before the Sovereign, on the justice and policy, the duty and necessity of 'the total abolition (to use his own strong expression) of the abominable traffic.' In discussing the former of these measures, he declared on behalf of himself and such of his colleagues as had voted with him on the subject when out of office, in a fervour of philanthropy, which quickly communicated itself to the breast of the country, and rekindled our warmest hopes, that 'they still felt the total abolition of the Slave Trade as a step involving the dearest interests of humanity, and as one which, however unfortunate this administration might be in other respects, should they be successful in effecting it, would entail more true glory upon their administration, and more honour upon their country, than any other transaction in which they could be engaged.' Could party-spirit so far blind this nation as to render it insensible to his merits, the grateful African would commemorate his name, and plead with the Parent of the Universe, in language which is not disregarded in Heaven, for a blessing on it.

"He was on all occasions the STEADY PROMOTER OF PEACE, and, as a peacemaker also, our religion enjoins us

to bless his memory. He repr bated the wickedness, he deplored the calamities of war, begun unjustly or protracted unnecessarily. He opposed with all the vigour of his great mind, that unnatural and violent struggle between America and England, which terminated in the disruption of the Colonies from the mother country; he unmasked the false pretences, demonstrated the utter injustice, and foretold the ruinous consequences of the late war—a war which impoverished this nation, desolated a great part of Europe, filled the world with misery, and sowed every where the seeds of future hostilities; and he deprecated with all his profound wisdom, all his manly eloquence, the contest in which we are now unhappily involved, beginning with a violation of the national faith, and likely to end in the aggrandisement of that overgrown and menacing power which it was designed to check and reduce. On every favourable opportunity he interposed his pacific counsels. He was the advocate of human nature; he spoke its wishes and sustained its cause; and mankind looked up to him as their patron. When, at length, the necessity and distress of his country, which, let it be remembered, he predicted, imperiously demanded the aid of his great powers, and he took the helm of affairs, he began, in the true spirit of his character, negotiations for peace; and Providence, in its inscrutable justice, has removed him from us while the event of those negotiations is yet uncertain. He expired, breathing those wishes for peace which it had been the purpose of his life to carry into effect; and peace, whenever we obtain it, will be considered by a grateful country as the legacy which he has bequeathed to us: his memory will be associated with the blessing, and will be for ever honoured in the association.

“We feel and cannot but feel—we lament and must deeply lament his loss—but we do not feel or lament alone; ALL EUROPE sympathises with us;—for there is not a civilized nation that did not confide in his integrity and revere his wisdom.”

Extract from a Discourse occasioned by the death of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, delivered at the Unitarian Chapel in Essex-street, October 12, 1806, by the Rev. Thomas Belsham.

“TO delineate a finished portrait of the mind of this patriotic minister of state, would require talents commensurate with his own, and an intimacy of access to his person of which few comparatively can boast. But as upon the present occasion it is impossible to avoid saying a few words upon the subject, I shall limit myself to a faint outline of his public character, the correctness of which may be easily appreciated by all who have paid attention to the state of the country for the last thirty years, and to the incidents of the public life of the late right honourable CHARLES JAMES FOX.

“To an extraordinary natural capacity, improved and embellished by a liberal education, and to a quickness of apprehension which instantly seized every object that was presented to it, and which with incredible facility developed the most intricate problems, this great man added a memory richly stored with the treasures of science and literature, and well fraught with historical and political knowledge. He was profoundly versed in the history, and the constitution of his country. He perfectly understood its external relations, its connexion with foreign powers, its political and commercial interests, its financial resources, its military and naval strength. He was well acquainted with the history, the strength, the policy, the separate and relative interests and views, of those states which once constituted what has not been improperly called the great republic of Europe, and upon the just equipoise of the political power and influence of which, the liberty, safety, and prosperity of the whole was supposed to depend; and, in a word, he was ignorant of nothing which was necessary to constitute

the consummate statesman. To this was added an extent of views, a comprehension of mind, and an energy of character peculiarly his own. All these were combined with a philanthropy which originated in a natural goodness of heart, improved and extended by historical knowledge, and personal observation, of the inestimable blessings which result from civil liberty, and from a wise administration of government, and of the miseries which accrue to mankind from unjust wars, from tyranny and persecution, and confirmed by generous exertions in defence of the injured, insulted and oppressed; so that what was originally nothing more than a natural bias of the mind, became by degrees a moral principle, and grew up into a fixed habit of universal, active, and disinterested benevolence.

“ His eloquence, that divine eloquence, which astonished and captivated the world, consisted, not in pomp of diction nor in melody of sound: not merely in a happy selection of expressions, though the best and the most appropriate which the language could supply, spontaneously offered themselves to his use; not in dazzling the fancy with brilliant imagery; not in bewildering the understanding with plausible sophistry; not in flattering the prejudices of his hearers, nor in exciting false hopes or groundless terrors to render them blindly subservient to party-purposes—to such unworthy artifices his manly spirit disdained to stoop. His eloquence was of a nobler kind. Plain, nervous, energetic, vehement; it simplified what was complicate, it unravelled what was entangled, it cast light upon what was obscure, and through the understanding it forced its way to the heart. It came home to the sense and feelings of the hearer, and by a secret irresistible charm, it extorted the assent of those who were most unwilling to be convinced. And to crown all, this astonishing eloquence was uniformly exerted in the cause of liberty and justice, in defence of the oppressed and persecuted, and in vindicating the rights, the freedom, and the happiness of mankind.

“ Political discrimination was another characteristic of this illustrious man. In questions of the utmost difficulty and delicacy, and of the greatest importance, such as

have occurred in the present age beyond any former period, his penetrating mind hardly ever failed to distinguish with the greatest accuracy the right, the honourable, and the useful; and to steer an even course between opposite and perilous extremes. He was the friend of reform, but of temperate and peaceable reform. He was the advocate for peace; and had his counsels been pursued, they would probably have ensured universal peace: but it was his avowed principle that even peace might be bought too dear; when it was purchased at the expence of the honour, the liberty, or the safety of the country. Tyranny in every shape was the object of his implacable aversion; but he was equally an enemy to licentiousness and anarchy, and was a zealous supporter of the authority of the law as the only security of rational liberty; and in all the turbulence of the times, he seldom, if ever, failed to observe that temperate and guarded medium in which true political wisdom consists.

“And to these splendid talents, this extraordinary man added an unaffected simplicity of manners, the characteristic of true greatness of soul, and an amiableness of disposition, which won the hearts of all who were honoured with his personal acquaintance.

“Such are the faint and imperfect outlines of the public character of this incomparable man. His political career is still fresh in the memory of us all. Early in life he burst forth in all his glory, like the sun in his strength, in opposition to those measures by which America was separated from this country. And when his powerful efforts combined with all the talent and eloquence of the senate, seconded by the voice of the people, and enforced by the critical and alarming situation of the country, had driven the unwise and unfortunate authors and advisers of them from the councils of the sovereign, he occupied a very important office in the new administration which was formed under the auspices of a distinguished nobleman*, whose eminent abilities and conciliatory spirit united many dis-

* The Marquis of Rockingham.

cordant interests; but who, unfortunately for the country, died within a few months after he entered into office. Political cabals soon compelled Mr. Fox and his friends to quit the cabinet; and resentment for what he regarded as ungenerous treatment impelled him to a measure, which, though it restored him to power with a high hand, was condemned, perhaps, for want of attending to the circumstances of the case, too severely condemned, by the general voice of the country. Nevertheless, in the plenitude of his power, however acquired, it cannot be proved that he ever departed from those wise and liberal principles which he always professed; and happy had it been for the country had he continued to direct its counsels. But power did not long remain in his hands; and the manner in which he was dismissed from office will not soon be forgotten. Still, however, his adherents and supporters were numerous and powerful; and his active and brilliant exertions in the cause of peace and liberty were gradually raising him again in the estimation of the public, when the grand and unparalleled revolution which took place in a neighbouring country, like a terrific meteor, shot forth discord and confusion over the surrounding nations. In this unprecedented crisis, a system was pursued by this country directly the reverse of those mild, temperate, and conciliatory measures, which were recommended by this enlightened and liberal statesman; who, in a celebrated publication written at the time in his own vindication, predicted with a precision little short of inspiration, the miserable consequences which ensued. But so little regard was paid to his warning voice, that the country, seduced by the fascination of a delusive eloquence, as though it were under a supernatural infatuation, hurried into the opposite extreme. And this great man, this oracle of political wisdom, was left almost alone; neglected by the court; insulted by his enemies; deserted, with a few illustrious exceptions, by his friends; by those who used to look up to him for advice, and in whom he had been accustomed to place the greatest confidence; he was forsaken by the people, of whose rights and liberties he had ever been the fearless advocate; and was almost

proscribed as an enemy to his country. This severe discipline, so unexpected and so unmerited, gave the last polish to his sublime character. It purified his public principles. He now learned to practise patriotism for its own sake. His great mind rose superior to popular applause: and he persevered in the path of public duty, from a proud sense of honour and conscious rectitude; from a regard to dignity and consistency of character; and from a high and generous principle of love to his country. Thus he persisted in exerting his amazing energies to enlighten, and to save from impending ruin, a people that turned a deaf ear to his earnest and benevolent remonstrances; till, in the end, truth and reason, aided by his potent eloquence, and by the testimony of sad and dear-bought experience, gained a complete victory over prejudice and passion: and this great statesman enjoyed the peculiar felicity of living to see the loftiest of his opponents giving way to the cogency of his arguments; and his illustrious rival himself acknowledging the wisdom of his political principles, earnestly soliciting his co-operation in the direction of the national counsels; and, almost, with his latest breath, recommending him as the only person whose talents and energies were capable of extricating his country from an unparalleled crisis of difficulty and danger. Thus was this extraordinary man, by the unanimous voice of his sovereign and his country, summoned to take the helm of the state in the midst of a tempest, and in circumstances of the most imminent peril; and had it been the will of Providence to have permitted him to carry into execution his magnificent designs, there can be little doubt that he would have steered his important charge into a safe and peaceful harbour. But the felicity of being governed by his wise and energetic counsels was not reserved for Britain. The powers of animal nature sunk exhausted by the vigorous exertions of the mind; and the immense pressure of public business, and public care, broke down a constitution which already indicated symptoms of decay, and in a few months deprived his country of the most enlightened, liberal, and patriotic statesman, which this, or any other

age, or nation, could boast, before the mighty schemes revolving in his breast could be matured and developed, and almost before any one of his wise and salutary measures could be carried into effect."

Extract from a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Richmond, in Surrey, October 12, 1806, by Charles Symmons, D. D.

"WITHIN the period of a few months, and at a crisis of fearful and portentous moment, Death has been peculiarly and awfully conversant with the illustrious of our land. In this short interval of time, we have seen the Minister, who for many successive years had presided over our counsels, expire in the vigour of his age; and we have seen also the hero, who had led our fleets in an uninterrupted course of victory, fall in the great moment of triumph, and leave behind him only a name. The moon has circled only a few times round our earth since India shed the tear of bitter regret upon the ashes of our Cornwallis; and England and the world are now summoned to deplore their irretrievable loss in the genius and the beneficence of Fox. Yes, my Christian friends, not many* hours have elapsed since we heard the solemn words of the text pronounced over the mortal remains of, perhaps, the first statesman, if we respect the illumination of the head and the amplitude of the heart, to whom our island has yet given birth. Yes, my friends! the spectacle has only just passed from our eyes of the myriads of a great people standing in dumb sorrow to offer the last affecting testimony of their

* * Not two entire days—Mr. F. being buried in the afternoon of the preceding Friday, October 10."

gratitude and love to their friend and their benefactor. Yes, my friends! the proud metropolis of Britain is scarcely yet recovered into activity, since the hearse of its patriot minister threw gloom over its streets, and we saw it with all its tumult and all its idleness, hushed and humbled by the imperious affliction. Grief sat upon the general countenance; and, while the dust was committing to the dust, we beheld whatever was most exalted and dignified, in our country, by rank, by talents, or by virtues, weeping at the pathetic spectacle, which was presented to them of human instability, and weeping also for the miserable disappointment of their own fondly cherished hopes of patriotism or of friendship. The scene was inexpressibly awful and impressive: the Genius of England appeared to hover over it in the majesty of sorrow, and the marble of the great Chatham, immediately overlooking the hallowed grave, seemed animated into speech; and, with the shades of the mighty dead, whose ashes crowded the venerable fane, in still and moving accents to say to his new associate, "Art, thou, also, become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us?" My Christian brethren! the influence of the scene still vibrates in my nerves; and it is not easy for me to detach my thought from that friend of man, whose body I then saw delivered to the ground. Pardon me, therefore, if I indulge myself for a few minutes by pausing on a subject which adheres very closely to my heart. The consecrated place, in which I now stand, shall never be prostituted by me to the purposes of flattery: and who, my friends, would flatter the dead? The hand, which can no longer be extended in benefit, will not be touched by the lip of the sycophant; and when we kindle incense upon the grave, the offering may be made to principle or to feeling, but never can it be intended as propitiatory of fortune.

"Let me observe, then, that the statesman, whose loss we immediately deplore, and whose loss, under the present peculiar circumstances of the world, will be felt through an extent of space and of time not easily to be calculated, came early into public life; and, when the laws scarcely

acknowledged him as man, discovered the ascendancy of his talents in the senate. If, in the first indiscretion of youth, he gave his support to a minister, who was subsequently proved to be unworthy of it, he soon abandoned his error; and, resigning himself, without any reserve, to his country, avowed by his conduct that he regarded the possession of power as an object of very subordinate consideration. From this moment, his life was one earnest struggle for the prosperity of Britain, and the best interests of his species, as they form the subjects of political institution. The views of his mind were elevated: its comprehension almost unlimited; and, for the attainment of the great ends of his wisdom, the accuracy of his judgment always suggested the most effective means, and the virtuous pride of his heart uniformly the most honourable. His magnanimity rejected all the little arts, the finesse, the subtilty, and the fraud of trivial statesmanship: he was too erect to stoop; too lofty to work in the low and dark mines of winding policy. His objects stood, at all times, confessed; and he made his way to them under the broad eye of the day. His eloquence sprang immediately from his character. Disdainful of the cold artifice of the rhetorician, it abandoned to other tongues the formal arrangement of sentences, and the laborious precision of declamation: it burst from its living source in rapid but clear argument, and bore away its audience in a stream of irresistible conviction. Adapted in every instance to the occasion, it was sometimes familiar, sometimes pathetic, sometimes sublime; and, invariably addressing itself to the understanding, it frequently agitated the affections, and frequently elevated the fancy. It culled no curious flowers to amuse the idle eye: but it rushed forth, in the naked power of truth, to overthrow the strong and to confound the corrupt.

“ During his short occupation of office, after the American war, against which fatal measure his protest had been uniform and zealous, the grandeur of his benevolence threw itself across the ocean to the remote regions of the East; and there struggled with the oppression which crushed thirty millions of the human race. He attempted to wrest

the sceptre from the gripe of private avarice which had so long-abused it, and by placing it in the immediate hand of Britain, to extend the renovating and fostering influence of her just and wise government to the desolated banks of the Ganges. The great minister was defeated, and fell with his object; and by one disastrous triumph of faction, accomplished with the force of a deluded people, a large portion of mankind were remitted to their wretchedness, and England, during a series of disgraceful and unhappy years, was deprived of the services of the most able and affectionate of her sons.

“ With all his plans, however, for the public good, disappointed; deserted by the crowd of his political adherents; with his heart and his motives slandered, and even his darling popularity stolen from him by the successful enterprizes of fraud, his philanthropy and his love of his country remained undiminished. No opposition, no injuries could excite him into acrimony, or infuse a drop of venom into his veins to taint the pure balminess of his blood. When a friend, on whom he hung with almost idolatrous regard, broke from him in the paroxysm of political madness, and with curious cruelty explored, in his attack on him, every avenue to pain, far from repelling enmity with enmity, he discovered his sensibilities of wrong only with tears and with intreaties; and he subsequently wept, with a pertinacity of affection almost without example, over the sepulchre of that very man, who had unrelentingly spurned all his offers of reconciliation, and who, with reference to him, had expired in the bitterness of resentment.

“ Of all the circumstances of his varied life, this circumstance alone, of violated and insulted friendship, could penetrate with anguish to his heart. He was, indeed, so affluent in self-resource that his long exclusion from power could be considered only as the misfortune of his country. With a bosom fortified with the consciousness of integrity; with an exquisite taste and capacity for the intellectual luxuries of literature; happy in the invincible attachment of the most valuable friends; and gratified with the usual

tiating indulgence of the benevolent and social affections, his felicity was completely independent of an ungrateful and misjudging world. Whatever was beyond the precincts of his retirement and the circle of his private intercourse, was too remote and weak to strike him with a deep wound, or to give any effectual shock to his enjoyment.

“ Truth compels us to acknowledge that he had faults; but they were faults unallied to malignity or to meanness; they were the genuine offspring of his warm and sanguine nature; and they flowed from the same fertile region, from which many of his virtues drew their source: they were faults which have been discovered in some of the most elevated and the most amiable of our imperfect kind: they were faults, in short, which, if we must deplore, we find it impossible to resent.

“ To the final act of his interesting life he maintained, with unfaltering consistency, the dignified distinction of his character. When called at a late—a very late period, by his Sovereign, to a lead in the national counsels, he cheerfully surrendered his decline, as he had formerly his vigorous maturity, to the paramount requisition of his country; and a solicitude for her happiness, with that of the whole human race, formed the last actuating passion of his heart. Sensible of the fatal decay of his constitution, he has been heard to declare that he should die happy if he could previously obtain peace, honourable peace for Britain, and for man the abolition of the slave-trade! Gracious God! we bend in submission to thy will: we acknowledge thine infinite wisdom, and we adore thy righteous though inscrutable dispensations: but, when the little passions of the present day are extinct and forgotten, remote generations shall lament that it was thy pleasure to take away from thy favoured land, in the very moment when he was most required, this efficient instrument of thy benevolence; and shall reverently ask of thee why thine œconomy has only once, in a long succession of ages, imparted to an individual of our species so powerful a genius to design, and so ardent a desire to accomplish the purposes of good.

"But, disappointed as he was, by his hurried doom, of the last darling objects of his pursuit, this exalted mortal died happy: his latest breath indulged us with this consoling truth: he died with the blessed hope of the Christian, and he felt only for the wretchedness of those who were to survive him."

*Extract from the Morning Chronicle of September
18, 1806.*

"CHARACTER OF MR. PITT AND MR. FOX,

BY MR. EDGEWORTH ;

Extracted from a Pamphlet published in 1797, entitled, 'A Letter to the Earl of Charlemont, on the Telegraph, and on the Defence of Ireland.'

"IT requires but little skill in prophecy to foresee that in these times of danger, when the minds of numbers are awake to the conduct of Government, no Minister will long maintain his power, who trusts to the left-handed wisdom of duplicity, who is prodigal in all that concerns the interests of his own party, and economic, not to say avaricious, in all that concerns the happiness of a people and the safety of a kingdom. The character of the Minister, contrasted with that of his distinguished political Rival in a period original and unprecedented, makes the danger of this little, paltry and futile policy, the more evident and palpable—That such conduct may not be too fatally extended to the rejection of other projects for the defence and safety of the kingdom, it may not be without its use impartially to delineate the characters of those who guide the Empire.

“Two rival Statesmen divide the opinion of the public—opposite in temperament, education, system, and in whatever constitutes character.—Shaded by the prophetic mantle of his father, there was, in the first appearance of the one, something of sublimity; splendid abilities, unusual sanctity of manners, bespoke and justified the confidence of his country.—Raised at once to a high station, pressed by business that must be instantly performed, he was obliged to accept of assistance from men hackneyed in the ways of office, and by degrees was compelled to relinquish the favourite, honourable resolutions of his youth.—He did not consort with men who marked his first deviations. Courtiers are not always furnished with a moral plumb-rule to adjust the rectitude of a friend, though they sometimes apply it rather awkwardly to detect the obliquity of an enemy. The unbounded confidence of the public tempted the frailty of his nature, and he scrupled not to impose a little upon the people, who had imposed so much upon themselves.

“The other Statesman had a character to make. With the exuberant animation which usually accompanies genius, he ran the eccentric round of dissipation.—But this to him was a short and salutary experiment; the same social nature at his first entrance upon his political career led him to tolerate, perhaps to imitate his companions: but his taste and judgment soon disdained the mean arts and sordid objects of inferior ambition. His moral character has been gradually formed by the conviction of his understanding, and perhaps not a single year has been added to his life, which has not added to his virtue.

“The philosophic eye will perceive the influence of character, not only in the conduct of affairs, but in the deliberation of the Senate. When the melodious voice of the Minister steals upon the ear, when he leads us ‘through many a bout of lengthened sweetness,’ far away from the object which we sought, we feel as if our understandings had been convinced, when our senses only have been gratified. When he assumes the tone of argument, we admire the lucid order, the beautiful connection, the high polish of his orations. It is true the parts are put together with

dexterity; the joinings and defects in the materials are exquisitely concealed by workmanship. The varnish is so delicate, that no rude hand ventures to deface it. But, when it yields to time, and reveals the wretched materials which it covered, we are amazed to see so much skill and ingenuity bestowed upon such a worthless fabric.

“ His opponent rises—we forget the orator, and sympathize with every feeling of the man. With the energy of a master-hand he strikes out at every blow a distinct idea. He never spins the slight gossamer of sophistry, to catch the feeble and fluttering attention; but, with Herculean nerve, we see him forge out, link by link, the chain of demonstration. There is no pause, no respite, till the massive length is complete, and riveted round the mind.

“ In a commercial nation, it is natural to look more to the Financier than to the Statesman; but these are not times when fiscal abilities can save an empire. Ministers who have furnished their memories with statistical tables, and all the detail of diplomatic learning, are well qualified, in times of tranquillity, to trim the balance of Europe, and to calculate its nice librations: but in the hour of tempest and danger, we abandon these refined speculations: we look for a Statesman, who, when he finds himself hurried on by the irresistible current of affairs, governs himself by a bolder prudence, and who, whilst the storm rages, dares to rely on the rapid suggestions of a vigorous and comprehensive mind.”

Extract from Mr. Sheridan's Speech, addressed to the Electors of Westminster on the 18th of September, and inserted in the Morning Chronicle of September 19, 1806.

“ IN addressing you upon this occasion, I am afraid that before I proceed to the few observations which I feel

it my duty to submit to you, I shall be obliged to commence with a request which I am almost ashamed to make—for your indulgence, if in consequence of a short but sharp indisposition, from which I am just recovering, my voice should not be strong enough to be clearly audible to the full extent of this large assembly. Upon that subject which must fill all your minds—upon the merits of that illustrious man, whose death has occasioned the present meeting, I shall, I *can* say but little. There must be some interval between the heavy blow that has been struck, and the consideration of its effect, before any one (and how many are there of those) who have revered and loved Mr. Fox as I have done, can speak of his death with the feeling but manly composure which becomes the dignified regret it ought to inspire. To you, however, Gentlemen, it cannot be necessary to describe him—for you must have known him well. To say any thing to you at this moment, in the first hours of your unburthened sorrows, must be unnecessary, and almost insulting. His image is still present before you—his virtue is in your hearts—his loss is your despair.

“ I have seen in one of the Morning Papers, what are stated to have been the last words of this great man,—‘ I die happy;’ then, turning to the dearest objects of his affection, ‘ I pity you.’ But had another moment been allowed him, and had the modesty of his great mind permitted it, well might he have expressed his compassion, not for his private friends only, but for the world—well might he have said, ‘ I pity you, I pity England, I pity Europe, I pity the human race.’ For to mankind at large his death must be a source of regret, whose life was employed to promote their benefit. He died in the spirit of peace, struggling to extend it to the world. Tranquil in his own mind, he cherished to the last, with a parental solicitude, the consoling hope to give tranquillity to nations. Let us trust that that stroke of death which has borne him from us, may not have left peace, and the dignified charities of human nature, as it were, orphans upon the world. From this afflicting consideration, I pass to one

comparatively insignificant, yet it is the question we are met this day to consider, namely, the pretensions of those who have the presumption to aspire to succeed him. An Honourable Friend has proposed me as a person worthy of that proud distinction. I cannot deny but that it is an object of ambition, unmixed, I think, with one unworthy motive, very near to my heart. I have received a friendly, though public, caution, that I may risk the confidence and attachment of my friends at Stafford by such a pursuit. I thank my monitor for his anxiety on that account, but he may rest assured that I know my constituents better. I have before declined an offer of support for this city upon a general election. My gratitude and devotion to my friends at Stafford bind me to seek no other. I have been six times chosen by them, which is a proof, at least, that when once elected I am not quarrelsome with my constituents. To attend to their wishes must of course be an object of my peculiar solicitude, and to continue to represent them, the favourite pursuit of my ambition, even more, perhaps, than that of the representation of Westminster. But it is not inconsistent with that sentiment, nor can it be offensive to the feelings of my constituents, that I should have offered myself to your notice upon this occasion. For my constituents must feel, that it is one thing to be the representative of Westminster, and another to be the successor of Mr. Fox. That, I own, I cannot but consider as an object of the highest importance, of which, if I were not ambitious, I must be insensible. Upon the present awful occasion, with such feelings as I know are clinging to your minds, hoping at most to palliate a loss irreparable—yet, searching with affectionate diligence how best to do so, to have been the object of your deliberate selection, would, I feel, have been to me an inspiring motive, beyond all ordinary encouragement, to have shewn myself not unworthy of the proud preference you had bestowed upon me. I fear not but that my friends at Stafford would have fully entered into this feeling, and not have considered my elevation by you as a desertion of them.

“ Having thus avowed my ambition, or my presumption, as some have been heard to call it, I have now to speak of my pretences. Egotism is always offensive, and I am happy that my Learned Friend has left me little or nothing to say on this head. He has stated, and I avow and adopt his statement, that my claim to your favour rests on the fact that I have, step by step, followed Mr. Fox through the whole course of his political career, and to the best of my poor abilities, supported him in every one of those measures, and in the maintenance of every one of those principles which originally recommended him to, and so long continued him in your confidence and esteem. It is true there have been occasions upon which I have differed with him—painful recollection of the most painful moments of my political life! Nor were there wanting those who endeavoured to represent those differences as a departure from the homage which his superior mind, though unclaimed by him, were entitled to, and the allegiance of friendship which our hearts all swore to him; but never was the genuine and confiding texture of his soul more manifest than on such occasions; he knew that nothing on earth could separate or detach me from him; and he resented insinuations against the sincerity and integrity of a friend, which he would not have noticed had they been pointed against himself. With such a man to have battled in the cause of genuine liberty—with such a man to have struggled against the inroads of oppression and corruption—with such an example before me, to have to boast that I never in my life gave one vote in Parliament that was not on the side of freedom, is the congratulation that attends the retrospect of my public life. His friendship was the pride and honour of my days. I never, for one moment, regretted to share with him the difficulties, the calumnies, and sometimes even the dangers that attended an honourable course. And now, reviewing my past political life, were the option possible that I should retread the path, I solemnly and deliberately declare, that I would prefer to pursue the same course—to bear up under the same pressure—to abide by the same principles—and remain by

his side, an exile from power, distinction and emolument, rather than be, at this moment, a splendid example of successful servility, or prosperous apostacy—though clothed with powers, honours, titles, and gorged with sinecures and wealth obtained from the plunder of the people.”

*Extract from the London Chronicle of November
25, 1806.*

“CHARACTER OF MR. FOX.

“CHARLES JAMES FOX was for thirty-two years a principal leader in the debates and discussions of the English House of Commons. The eminent transactions of his life lay within those walls; and so many of his Countrymen as were accustomed to hear his speeches there, or have habitually read the abstracts which have been published of them, are in possession of the principal materials by which this extraordinary man is to be judged.

“Fox is the most illustrious model of a Parliamentary Leader on the side of liberty that this Country has produced. This character is the appropriate glory of England, and Fox is the proper example of this character.

“England has been called, ‘The land of liberty and good sense.’ We have preserved many of the advantages of a free people, which the Nations of the Continent have long since lost. Some of them have made wild and intemperate sallies for the recovery of all those things which are most valuable to man in society, but their efforts have not been attended with the happiest success. There is a sobriety in the English People, particularly in accord with the possession of freedom. We are somewhat slow, and somewhat silent; but beneath this outside we have much of reflection, much of firmness, a consciousness of power and of worth,

a spirit of frank dealing and plain speaking, and a moderate and decent sturdiness of temper not easily to be deluded or subdued.

“ For thirty-two years Fox hardly ever opened his mouth in Parliament, but to assert, in some form or other, the cause of liberty and mankind, and to repel tyranny in its various shapes, and protest against the incroachments of power. In the American War, in the questions of reform at home which grew out of the American War, and in the successive scenes which were produced by the French Revolution, Fox was still found the perpetual advocate of freedom. He endeavoured to secure the privileges and the happiness of the people of Asia, and the people of Africa. In Church and State his principles were equally favourable to the cause of liberty. Englishmen can no where find the sentiments of freedom unfolded and amplified in more animated language, or in a more consistent tenor, than in the recorded Parliamentary Debates of Fox. Many have called in question his prudence, and the practicability of his politics in some of their branches: none have succeeded in fixing a stain upon the truly English temper of his heart.

“ The reason why Fox excelled in this reign William Pulteney, and other eminent leaders of Opposition, in the reign of George the Second, was, that his heart beat in accord to sentiments of liberty. The character of the English Nation has improved since the year 1760. The two first Kings of the House of Hanover, did not aspire to the praise of encouragers of English literature, and had no passion for the fine arts; and their Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, loved nothing, nor pretended to understand any thing but finance, commerce, and peace. His opponents caught their tone from his, and their debates rather resembled those of the directors of a great trading company, than of men who were concerned with the passions, the morals, the ardent sentiments, and the religion of a generous and enlightened Nation. The English seemed fast degenerating into such a people as the Dutch; but Burke and Fox, and other eminent characters not necessary to be mentioned here, redeemed us from the imminent

depravity, and lent their efforts to make us the worthy inhabitants of a soil which had produced a Shakespeare, a Bacon, and a Milton.

“ Fox, in addition to the generous feelings of his heart, possessed, in a supreme degree, the powers of an acute logician. He seized with astonishing rapidity, the defects of his antagonist’s arguments, and held them up in the most striking point of ridicule. He never misrepresented what his opponent had said, or attacked his accidental oversights, but fairly met and routed him when he thought himself strongest. Though he had at no time studied law as a profession, he never entered the lists in reasoning with a lawyer, that he did not shew himself superior to the gowned pleader at his own weapons. It was this singular junction of the best feelings of the human heart, with the acutest powers of the human understanding, that made Fox the wonderful creature he was.

“ Let us compare William Pitt in office, and Charles James Fox out of it; and endeavour to decide upon their respective claims to the gratitude of posterity. Pitt was surrounded with all that can dazzle the eye of a vulgar spectator; he possessed the plenitude of power; during a part of his reign, he was as nearly despotic as the Minister of a mixed Government can be: he dispensed the gifts of the Crown; he commanded the purse of the Nation; he wielded the political strength of England. Fox during almost all his life had no part of these advantages.

“ It has been said, that Pitt preserved his Country from the anarchy and confusion which from a neighbouring Nation threatened to infect us. This is a very doubtful proposition. It is by no means clear that the English people could ever have engaged in so wild, indiscriminate, ferocious, and sanguinary a train of conduct as was exhibited by the people of France. It is by no means clear that the end which Pitt is said to have gained, could not have been accomplished without such bloody wars, such formidable innovations on the liberties of Englishmen, such duplicity, unhallowed dexterity and treachery, and so audacious a desertion of all the principles with which the

Minister commenced his political life as Pitt employed. Meanwhile it was the simple, ingenuous and manly office of Fox to protest against the madness and the despotical proceedings of his rival in administration: and, if he could not successfully counteract the measures of Pitt, the honour at least is due to him, to have brought out the English character not fundamentally impaired, in the issue of the most arduous trial it was ever called to sustain.

“The eloquence of these two renowned Statesmen well corresponded with the different parts they assumed in public life. The eloquence of Pitt was cold and artificial. The complicated, yet harmonious, structure of his periods, bespoke the man of contrivance and study. No man knew so well as Pitt how to envelope his meaning in a cloud of words, whenever he thought obscurity best adapted to his purpose. No man was so skilful as Pitt to answer the questions of his adversary without communicating the smallest information. He was never taken off his guard. If Pitt ever appeared in some eyes to grow warm as he proceeded, it was with a measured warmth; there were not any starts, and sallies, and sudden emanations of the soul; he seemed to be as much under the minutest regulation in the most vehement swellings and apostrophes of his speech, as in his coldest calculation.

“Fox, as an orator, appeared to come immediately from the forming hand of nature. He spoke well, because he felt strongly and earnestly. His oratory was impetuous as the current of the River Rhone; nothing could arrest its course. His voice would insensibly rise to too high a key; he would run himself out of breath. Every thing showed how little artifice there was in his eloquence. Though on all great occasions he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart, and shot through the blood of his hearer. I have seen his countenance lighten up with more than mortal ardour and goodness; I have been present when his voice has been suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a torrent of tears.

“The love of freedom which marks the public proceed-

ings of Fox, is exactly analagous to the natural temper of his mind: he seemed born for the cause which his talents were employed to support. He was the most unassuming of mankind. He was so far from dictating to others, that it was often imputed to him, though perhaps erroneously, that he suffered others to dictate to him. No man ever existed more simple in his manners, more single-hearted, or less artificial in his carriage. The set phrases of what is called polished life, made no part of his ordinary speech; he courted no man; he practised adulation to none. Nothing was in more diametrical opposition to the affected than the whole of his behaviour. His feelings in themselves, and in the expression of them, were, in the most honourable sense of the word, childlike. Various anecdotes might be related of his innocent and defenceless manners in private and familiar life, which would form the most striking contrast with the vulgar notions of the studied and designing demeanour of a Statesman. This was the man that was formed to defend the liberties of Englishmen: his public and his private life are beautiful parts of a consistent whole, and reflect mutual lustre on each other.

“To conclude, Fox is the great ornament of the Kingdom of England during the latter part of the eighteenth century. What he did is the due result of the illumination of the present age, and of the character of our ancestors for ages past. Pitt (if I may be excused for mentioning him once again) was merely a Statesman, he was formed to seize occasions, to possess himself of power. He belonged to ancient Carthage—he belonged to modern Italy—but there is nothing in him that expressly belongs to England. Fox, on the contrary—mark how he outshines his rival—how little the acquisition of power adds to the intrinsic character of the man!—is all over English. He is the mirror of the national character of the age in which he lived—its best, its purest, its most honourable representative. No creature that has the genuine feelings of an Englishman can recollect, without emotions of exultation, the temper, the endowments, and the public conduct of Fox.

W. GODWIN.”

*Verses by the Duchess of Devonshire, inscribed
under the bust of Mr. Fox, at Woburn.*

“ Here, ’midst the friends he lov’d, the man behold :
In truth unshaken, and in virtue bold :
Whose patriot zeal and uncorrupted mind
Dar’d to assert the freedom of mankind ;
And whilst extending desolation far,
Ambition spread the baleful flames of war ;
Fearless of blame, and eloquent to save,
’Twas he—’twas Fox, the warning counsel gave ;
’Midst jarring conflicts stemm’d the tide of blood,
And to the menac’d world a sea-mark stood !

“ Oh ! had his voice in Mercy’s cause prevail’d,
What grateful millions had the Statesman hail’d :
Whose wisdom bade the broils of nations cease,
And taught the world humanity and peace !
But though he fail’d, succeeding ages here
The vain yet pious efforts shall revere :
Boast in their annals his illustrious name,
Uphold his greatness, and confirm his fame.”

*Extract from the Bath Chronicle of September
25, 1806.*

“ THE character GIBBON, our illustrious historian, gave of Mr. Fox, ought not to be forgotten, at this time, in his tour of Switzerland (Sept. 1788.)

‘ MR. FOX gave me two days of free and private society. He seemed to feel, and even to envy the happi-

ness of my situation: while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his character, with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity, or falsehood.'—In a letter which corresponds with the same date, Mr. Gibbon says, 'The Man of the People escaped from the tumult, the bloody tumult of the Westminster election, to the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, and I was informed that he was arrived at the Lion d'Or. I sent a compliment; he answered it in person, and settled at my house for the remainder of the day. I have eat and drank, and conversed, and sat up all night with Mr. Fox, in England; but it never has happened, perhaps it never can happen again, that I should enjoy him as I did that day, alone, from ten in the morning till ten at night. Our conversation never flagged a moment; and he seemed thoroughly pleased with the place and with his company. We had little politics, though he gave me in few words, such a character of Pitt as one great man should give of another, his rival: much of books, from my own, on which he flattered me very pleasantly, to Homer and the Arabian Nights; much about the country, my garden, (which he understands far better than I do;) and, upon the whole, I think he envies me, and would do so were he Minister. The next morning I gave him a guide to walk him about the town and country, and invited some company to meet him at dinner. The following day he continued his journey to Bern and Zurich, and I have heard of him by various means. The people gaze on him as a prodigy, but he shews little inclination to converse with them.'

Extract

Extract from the Monthly Repository for September 1807.

CHARACTER OF MR. FOX,

BY THE CELEBRATED SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

“THE following character of Mr. Fox appeared in the *Bombay-Courier* of January 17th. It has been attributed, we have no doubt justly, to the pen of a gentleman who fills the first station in the judicial department of that settlement. The learned and eloquent recorder of Bombay, came into public life under the peculiar patronage of Mr. Fox, and his friends. He advocated their measures, and was the follower of their fortunes. But “hope deferred makes the heart sick.” Probably despairing of any “tide in the affairs of men,” which might carry his friends into power, he made his peace with Mr. Pitt, a statesman whom he had often justly denounced as the friend of war, and the foe of reformation. At length this gentleman had his reward in an appointment, lucrative and honourable, yet by one of political taste, and talents, in danger of being regarded as a splendid banishment. It was natural for such a person, on receiving intelligence of Mr. Fox’s death, to recollect former attachments, and to express in a manner worthy of the subject, the esteem and affection, which a familiar intercourse with that great man could hardly have failed to inspire.

‘MR. FOX united in a most remarkable degree, the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men, and the most vehement of orators. In private life he was gentle, modest, placable; kind, of simple manners, and so averse from parade and dogmatism, as to be not only unostentatious, but even somewhat inactive in conversation. His superiority was never felt, but in the instruction which he

imparted, or in the attention which his generous preference usually directed to the more obscure members of the company. The simplicity of his manners was far from excluding that perfect urbanity and amenity which flowed still more from the mildness of his nature, than from familiar intercourse with the most polished society of Europe. His conversation, when it was not repressed by modesty, or indolence, was delightful. The pleasantry perhaps of no man of wit had so unlaboured an appearance. It seemed rather to escape from his mind, than to be produced by it. He had lived on the most intimate terms with all his contemporaries, distinguished by wit, politeness, or philosophy, or learning, or the talents of public life. In the course of thirty years he had known almost every man in Europe, whose intercourse could strengthen, or enrich, or polish the mind. His own literature was various and elegant. In classical erudition, which, by the custom of England, is more peculiarly called learning, he was inferior to few professed scholars. Like all men of genius, he delighted to take refuge in poetry, from the vulgarity and irritation of business. His own verses were easy and pleasing, and might have claimed no low place among those which the French call *vers de société*. The poetical character of his mind was displayed in his extraordinary partiality for the poetry of the two most poetical nations, or at least languages of the west, those of the Greeks and of the Italians. He disliked political conversation, and never willingly took any part in it. To speak of him justly as an orator, would require a long essay. Every where natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior, which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge, could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time, than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself, and every thing around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed, and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impe-

tuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction. He certainly possessed above all moderns that union of reason, simplicity, and vehemence, which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenean speaker, since Demosthenes. 'I knew him,' says Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet written after their unhappy difference, 'when he was nineteen; since which time he has risen, by slow degrees, to be the most brilliant, and accomplished debater that the world ever saw.' The quiet dignity of a mind roused only by great objects, the absence of petty bustle, the contempt of show, the abhorrence of intrigue, the plainness and downrightness, and the thorough good nature which distinguished Mr. Fox, seem to render him no very unfit representative of that old English national character, which if it ever changed, we should be sanguine indeed to expect to see succeeded by a better. The simplicity of his character inspired confidence, the ardour of his eloquence roused enthusiasm, and the gentleness of his manners invited friendship. 'I admired,' says Mr. Gibbon, 'the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive character, with all the softness and simplicity of a child: no human being was ever more free from any taint of malignity, vanity or falsehood.' From these qualities of his public and private character, it probably arose that no English statesman ever preserved during so long a period of adverse fortunes, so many affectionate friends and so many zealous adherents. The union of ardour in public sentiment, with mildness in social manner, was, in Mr. Fox, an hereditary quality. The same fascinating power over the attachment of all who came within his sphere, is said to have belonged to his father; and those who know the survivors of another generation, will feel that this delightful quality is not yet extinct in the race.

"Perhaps nothing can more strongly prove the deep impression made by this part of Mr. Fox's character, than the words of Mr. Burke, who in January, 1797, six years after all intercourse between them had ceased, speaking to a person honoured with some degree of Mr. Fox's friend-

ship said, 'To be sure he is a man made to be loved' and these emphatical words were uttered with a fervour of manner which left no doubt of their heart-felt sincerity.

"These few hasty and honest sentences, are sketched in a temper too sober and serious for intentional exaggeration, and with too pious an affection for the memory of Mr. Fox, to profane it by intermixture with the factious brawls and wrangles of the day. His political conduct belongs to history. The measures which he supported or opposed may divide the opinion of posterity, as they have divided those of the present age. But he will most certainly command the unanimous reverence of future generations, by his pure sentiments towards the commonwealth, by his zeal for the civil and religious rights of all men, by his liberal principles favourable to mild government, to the unfettered exercise of the human faculties, and the progressive civilization of mankind, by his ardent love for a country, of which the well-being and greatness were indeed inseparable from his own glory, and by his profound reverence for that free constitution, which he was universally admitted to understand better than any other man of his age, both in an exactly legal and a comprehensively philosophical sense."

Extract from the Critical Review for March
1808.

CHARACTER OF MR. FOX,

BY THE REV. ROBERT FELLOWES.

"IT is the fate of ordinary minds to derive their leading traits, the moral and intellectual peculiarities which designate the idiom of character, from the circumstances in

which they happen to be placed, and the period in which they chance to live. They seem fitted to be only servile copyists of what they have seen and heard, without any trace of original conception or independent thought. But minds of a superior cast are found rather to communicate than to receive resemblances, rather to modify, than like more soft and plastic substances, to be modified by the form and fashion of the times. If the mind of Mr. Fox did not possess that transcendent sublimity of influence which can alter the moral aspect of nations, it must at least be acknowledged that the energetic activity of his reflective genius was sufficient to impress its own convictions on the whole intellectual mass of the country, in which a sordid selfishness had not blinded the mind, hardened the heart, and destroyed at once the feeling of patriotism and the love of liberty.

“The various opinions which Mr. Fox delivered during the long course and diversified conflicts of his public life, contain a treasure of political philosophy which no statesman can study without becoming more benevolent and more wise. The notions which he uttered were not taken up at random and again laid down without consideration as interest or passion might impel. Such may be, and such are the fluctuations of those who venture on the sea of politics without sagacity to direct their way, or honesty to keep them steady in their course. The axioms which Mr. Fox embraced as the pole-star of his political conduct, and which he inculcated as the best means of promoting the happiness of nations, were deduced from a profound and comprehensive survey of human affairs, from an intimate acquaintance with human nature, and from an enlightened view of the end for which government was established. His political sentiments, originating in principles which are as immutable as the attributes of the Deity, from which they are derived, were not subject to any vicious defection or capricious fluctuations. Thus no statesman ever exceeded Mr. Fox in his consistency or probity. Tergiversation is reckoned the peculiar failing of politicians; but we do not remember any one instance in the life of Mr. Fox

in which he ever renounced any of the great and leading principles which he ever advanced. He was not at one time a friend to freedom, and then a stickler for prerogative. He did not at one period recommend reform, and at another patronize corruption. The love of liberty was cherished in his mind till it had become part of his nature; it was incorporated in the personal identity of the man. It was not more a glowing sensation of his heart than a profound impression of his conscience, and a steady conviction of his intellect. His political notions did not, like those of Mr. Pitt, vary with his circumstances. He knew and he felt that the relations of truth and justice do not alter their position as the gale of fortune happens to blow from the different points of the political horizon. And, as the opinions which Mr. Fox maintained, were founded on the basis of justice and of truth, they partook of the sanctity and eternity of moral obligation. His political was indeed only a part of the great moral theory which occupied his mind. Thus in political probity, the history of all times and nations will not readily bring us acquainted with a superior to Mr. Fox. For though Mr. Fox was by no means insensible to the gratifications of wealth, yet he maintained his principles inviolate in periods, when every lure which power could furnish, was held out to his apostacy; and when the perilous appearances of the times themselves might have furnished him with something like a plausible excuse for the dereliction of his principles. But he remained immutably firm. It is in the hour of temptation, difficulty and distress, that the constancy of integrity is seen. In such an hour did Mr. Fox, deserted except by a chosen few, maintain the cause of rational freedom against the advocates for anarchy on the one hand, and for despotism on the other. He stood, as he himself expressed it, in the gap between the tyranny that seemed to threaten us on one side from the mob, and on the other from the court. In this stormy period his principles would undoubtedly have vacillated if they had not been founded on the rock of honesty and truth. The politics of Mr. Fox's great rival, Mr. Pitt, were of a different complexion. Instead

of being extracted from those principles which are as unchangeable as the moral properties of God, they were made up of artificial and fugitive expedients. The politics of Mr. Fox were always directed more to the good of others than to his own self-advancement. The politics of Mr. Pitt were less directed to the good of others than to the acquisition of power for himself. The possession of power was his object, and the retention of it was his end. His first, his last, and his only wish was power. If there be a ruling passion this was his. Ambition is often the character of a great and generous mind; but the ambition of Mr. Pitt rested on a narrow base. It was selfishness in the extreme. We do not mean that selfishness which is concentrated in the lust of wealth, but in a thirst for power, which was not sanctified by any devout emotions of beneficence. Beneficence is what alone can consecrate the otherwise unholy longings of ambition. The ambition of Mr. Pitt consisted solely in a desire to be greater than his peers. Ambition was by no means absent from the mind of Mr. Fox; but it was an ambition of a nobler kind—it was never forsaken by justice, and it mounted even to the heavens on the wing of humanity.

“ In the qualities of distinguished politicians there have been few instances in which we do not discover the practice of duplicity and the habit of circumvention. But there was nothing like double-dealing in Mr. Fox. He spoke what he meant, and he always meant what he spoke. What passed from his tongue never belied what was passing in his heart. He scorned all disguise, and he needed none. If sincerity ever fixed her shrine in any human heart it was in his. Nothing hypocritical, nothing fraudulent or insidious entered into his composition. His father in very early life had taught him to shun all artifice and reserve, and to venerate the simplicity of truth. Hence he was celebrated for his frankness, above all the statesman of his time. No man approached him without feeling that he stood before one in whom there was no perfidy, no guile. Hence he could not open his mouth without disarming suspicion and impressing confidence.

This was one of the great reasons why his eloquence, if it did not make the venal and corrupt hirelings of power abandon the wages of sin, at least always excited the attention and commanded the respect even of the venal and corrupt. There was a snowy candour in his sentiments which was not polluted by a single stain of fraud, cruelty, or injustice. In all the speeches which he ever delivered in the House of Commons, from the time in which his judgment had become at all matured, he never uttered a single maxim which a wise man need blush to own, or of which a good man might not feel a sweet complacency in the recollection.

“The habit of reflection had given to the mind of Mr. Fox a degree of prescience which seemed almost supernatural. His knowledge of causes and effects was indeed greatly beyond that of any other man of the age. In this respect his mind seemed to brighten with a ray of the divinity, of which his rivals had no share. While they were groping their way in the dark, or gazing like idiots on present appearances, he viewed things in their distant relations and their remote effects. Thus there is hardly any great political measure of his adversary which he reprobated, that was not ultimately found mischievous in its operations; and hardly any conduct which he advised which melancholy experience did not prove to be that which ought to have been pursued. But his remonstrances, his exhortations and suggestions, like the predictions of Cassandra, to which they were often compared, were neglected and despised till the time in which they might have been executed, had glided away. The history of the revolutionary war will bear ample testimony to the truth of this observation.

“Many who have no virtue themselves, or in whom the varnish of exterior decorum is employed as a substitute for virtue, have often vented their slanders on the vices of Mr. Fox. But, of those vices, which are of the most unsocial and malignant cast, we do not believe that one can fairly be laid to his charge. The impetuous ardour of his temperament, and the restless activity of his mind, which, in whatever was the object of pursuit, never stagnated in in-

difference, often made him pass the limits of discretion. But the frigid calculations of mercantile prudence seem to be suited only to ordinary minds. The mind of Mr. Fox was not of that class. But can it be said that Mr. Fox was ever guilty of a single act which tended to make any deduction from the happiness of his fellow-creatures? Did he ever seduce the wife or the daughter of his friend? Did he ever supplant a rival by fraud, or practise a single dishonest art to obtain any interested end? His vices, whatever they were, were injurious only to himself; and they made no deduction from the independence of the patriot, or the honesty of the man. If he wasted his patrimony at the gaming table, yet the good of his country was never the stake for which he threw. Can this be said of his great political opponent? He indeed was no gamester at Brookes's or at White's; but did he not hazard the safety of his country on the die of his own selfish ambition in the chapel of St. Stephen? If Mr. Fox lavished his own private fortune with inconsiderate prodigality, Mr. Pitt squandered the fortunes of the public with more criminal profusion. The vices of Mr. Fox did not diffuse their bane beyond the confines of his own circle; but we are all losers by the vices of Mr. Pitt. They have spread darkness, misery, and want over the land. The popularity of Mr. Fox was the spontaneous unbought homage of the heart; that of Mr. Pitt was purchased by pensions and emoluments. The popularity of Mr. Fox was the tribute of all the intellect, the worth and virtue in the nation; that of Mr. Pitt was the selfish brawl of rapacious money lenders, mercenary jobbers, credulous dotards, senseless bigots, and hypocritical priests. The heart of Mr. Fox was tenanted by none of those squalid forms which appear to have fixed their dwelling in that of Mr. Pitt. There was none of that suspicion, which marks a consciousness of evil; none of that envy which is corroded by the sight of what it affects to applaud and love; there was no space allotted to calumny; none to malignant insinuation; none to supercilious arrogance; none to tyrannic pride. But are not these qualities the most pestiferous of the progeny of vice; and from these can the

same exclusion be allotted to Mr. Pitt as to Mr. Fox? Mr. Fox could have sat in the same cabinet with Mr. Pitt without any jealousy of his talents or his eloquence; but Mr. Pitt, who could neither endure an equal, nor admire a superior, would not have rested till he had undermined his rival by secret intrigue and insidious machinations. That human kindness, which pervaded the bosom of Mr. Fox, could hardly be abated, and was never extinguished even by the inveterate hostility of his opponents; but Mr. Pitt always maligned the man who had the courage or the honesty to resist his imperious will. Mr. Fox was always an ardent friend, but never an irreconcilable foe; Mr. Pitt was not only an envenomed enemy, but a cold and suspicious friend. In Mr. Fox there was rather an excess than a dearth of those kind affections which endear the individual to all who come within the sphere of his attraction; but in Mr. Pitt the kinder sympathies were often absorbed in over-flowing insolence and overbearing pride. In the sensitive temperament of Mr. Fox, all that is mild, generous, open, and urbane, were so happily mingled as to constitute what Mr. Burke called 'a man made to be loved;' but the bosom of Mr. Pitt was more like the palace of an eastern king, where suspicion stands at the door, and where hate, distrust, and tyranny stalk within the walls.

"Mr. Pitt had religion and morality always in his mouth, particularly when he had any point to carry with the country gentlemen, who were lured by these tempting sounds to co-operate in the *pious crusade* against France; but though Mr. Fox was no formal religionist, yet the essence of religion, which centres in charity, was the predominant sensation of his heart. If religion consist in doing to others as we would that they should do to us; if it have any connection with a holy endeavour to preserve peace on earth and good will among men (and what Christian will deny this?) then we will venture to say, that Mr. Fox, who never made any shew of religion, was, in fact, one of the most religious men of the age. The great object of his political life was to prevent the havoc of war and to preserve the world in peace. His exertions were indeed in-

effectual, but they were unintermitted; and if he who saves the life of one man, deserve a civic crown, what recompence must be due to him who laboured, with so much constancy and zeal, to rescue millions from an untimely grave? If peace since the commencement of the Christian era ever had a steady, a disinterested advocate, it was in Mr Fox. Peace was his constant aim, his ardent hope, his living counsel, and his dying prayer.

“The eloquence of Mr. Fox contains all the great qualities in which orators of all ages have been most ambitious to excel. It is varied, perspicuous, argumentative, cogent, and profound. It agitates, impresses, interests, and instructs. It has nothing mechanical, affected, or constrained. It appears rather the effusion of nature than the product of art. There is in it a simplicity of diction often bordering on negligence, but never deviating into rusticity, and always made the vehicle for comprehensive knowledge, sagacious observation, and uniform good sense. These are its general characteristics. Mr. Fox never counterfeited emotions which he did not feel. When he became warmed with his subject, that warmth was no scenic exhibition, but the actual mirror of what was passing in his mind. His intellect was of too elevated a species to court the aid of equivocation or disguise. Hypocrisy never stood sentinel over his thoughts. His conscience had not to answer for one act of dissimulation. Here Mr. Fox may take his stand on lofty ground, and bid defiance to every competitor among the statesmen of all countries and times. The oratory of Mr. Fox seldom sparkled with metaphorical glitter like that of Mr. Burke, or expatiated in a pompous procession of sonorous periods like that of Mr. Pitt. But though there was no vain display of exterior magnificence, it was always animated with the spirit of liberty, of virtue, and of truth. His mouth spoke out of the fullness of his heart. Amplification is the privilege of orators; but Mr. Fox was not apt to swell common objects beyond their natural dimensions. No speaker was ever less addicted to bombast. When the speeches of Mr. Pitt are stripped of their gorgeous apparel, but few ideas are left; and, those

poor emaciated forms without any blood in their veins or flesh upon their bones. But the speeches of Mr. Fox are remarkable for fullness of thought. The ideas are not lost in a superfluity of words. There is not a swell of sound and an inanity of sense. The accurate knowledge of general nature, which Mr. Fox possessed, caused him to sprinkle his speeches with those maxims of philosophic truth which, deduced from the constitution of the world, and the complex relations of human life, are fitted to come home to men's interests and bosoms. Even the abstractions of Mr. Fox teem with practical life; they are general truths founded on a large induction of particulars, and susceptible of the most varied applications. In Mr. Pitt great and comprehensive views were forsaken for an attention to official minutiae. He does not appear ever to have acquired the habit of generalization; but it is this faculty which eminently marks superiority of mind. Here Mr. Fox was resplendently great; here his more fortunate rival must in the judgment of every candid man resign the palm. There is in oratory as in morals an ideal of excellence which no individual will ever reach. Mr. Fox did not pass the bounds of human imperfection; but in promptitude, energy, copiousness, variety, and force, in the rejection of sophistry, dissimulation, and every unworthy art, in independence of principle and disinterestedness of conduct, in candour, sincerity, and truth, in patriotism and philanthropy, he may challenge a parallel with any orator in any age."

Extract from Richmond Hill, a Poem,

BY THE AUTHOR OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

MR. FOX.

"INSATIATE still with spoil! th' offended Pow'r
That rules, in wrath, o'er Britain's darker hour,

E'er nine sad sorrowing months have roll'd around,
 Aims yet another shaft her peace to wound;
 In deeper volumes rolls th' incumbent gloom,
 And gives her other TULLY to the tomb!
 The mighty soul of PITT from earth retires;
 For ever quench'd his daring Rival's fires!

“ Where are the Nine immortal Muses fled,
 The dirges chanted o'er the virtuous dead?
 Does no wild plaintive harp *his* praise resound,
 Whose honour'd brows their brightest laurels bound?
 Why, BRINSLEY, clothed with eloquence and fire,
 Wakes not thy kindling Muse the patriot lyre;
 And Thou! in whose refined and classic page
 The famed Castilian* shines with native rage,
 Whose learning charms us, while thy strains delight,
 That bring past ages to our raptured sight;
 Why roams thy genius to a distant clime,
 Nor pours o'er *kindred Worth* th' ennobling rhyme?
 Shall Fox unhonour'd slumber in the dust?
 Perish yon stars, but let the Muse be just!

“ If matchless talents, boundless stretch of thought,
 If science at the sacred fountain sought;
 A spirit, kindling with that fervid glow,
 Whence only great and daring actions flow;
 If friendship, ardent, springing from the soul,
 That ne'er knew guile, nor interest's base controul;
 Philanthropy that burn'd tow'rd's all mankind,
 By wide-spread seas, or continents disjoin'd,
 Where ever Phœbus' glowing axle rolls,
 Flames at the line, or glimmers at the poles;
 But chief, on fire, beyond th' Atlantic wave,
 To rend the fetters of the groaning slave—
 If these—if heav'n-born Genius give the claim
 To deathless laurels, and immortal Fame,

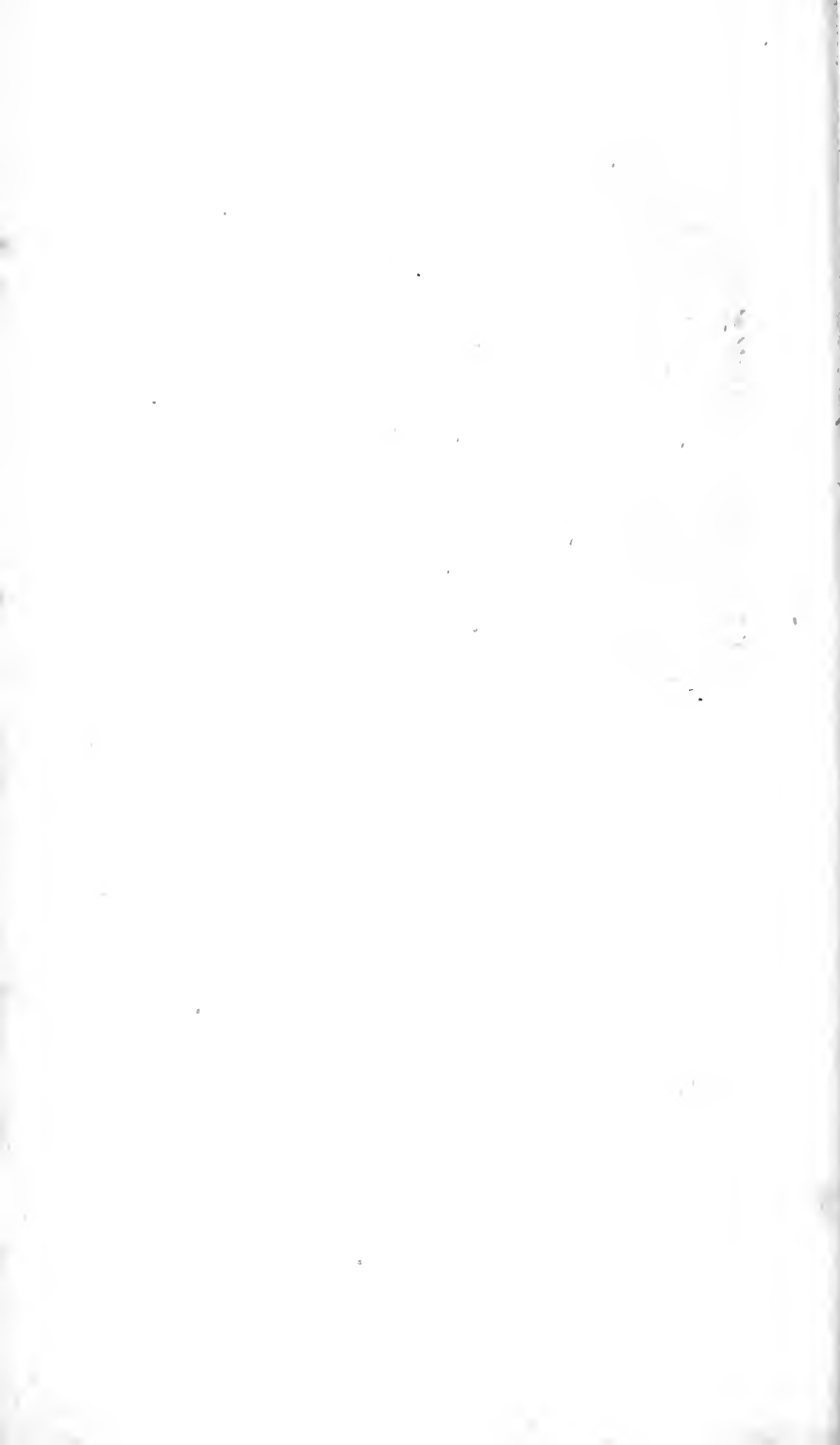
* “ Lope de Vega: whose Life has recently been presented
 to the public by the noble Relative of Mr. Fox,

That MEED is thine—eternally inshrined,
In every generous Briton's patriot mind.

“ Virtues like these, above yon azure vault
Of blazing orbs, our groveling race exalt—
Virtues, like these, make *trivial faults* appear,
As the faint spots on day's refulgent sphere!
Yet not for these the Muse resounds thy praise,
Nor that thy genius pour'd the living lays;
But that with fervid and electric strain
That warm'd the raptur'd hearer's throbbing vein,
Thy powerful voice that rival's glory spread,
And gave due honours to the mighty dead.

“ No more your thunders strike th' admiring ear,
But close by *his* is laid *thy* laurell'd bier:
Extinguish'd high ambition's glorious thirst,
Together mingled your distinguish'd dust—
In peace repose, where yon imperial dome
O'er shrouded grandeur throws its awful gloom,
Where kings and heroes strew the hallow'd floor,
' And York and Lancaster are foes no more! ”

I HAVE



I HAVE long been anxious to convey to you my condolence on the death of our inestimable friend Mr. Fox. But I have been hitherto restrained by the dread of appearing to you obtrusive, in the fresh hour of your affliction; and by a consciousness of my own inability to administer much to your comfort. Such is the wise constitution of our nature, that in certain situations, and for a certain time, it is better for us to follow the instinctive impulses of our feelings, than to wait for the slow and calm direction of our reason. Grief under such circumstances is impatient of the slightest interruption to that series of ideas which is most congenial to itself; and we then reject the very same topics of consolation which we afterwards cherish and approve, when they occur to us spontaneously, or when flowing from those around us, they fall in with other trains of thinking

which time has silently introduced into our bosoms.

Well knowing the poignant anguish occasioned by the loss of those whom we have been accustomed to regard with affection, I cannot but take a most lively share in your distress, heightened, as I am aware it must be, by the continual privation of the delight you formerly experienced, in the conversation of a cheerful, sagacious, and most faithful friend. Pardon me, however, for expressing my hope that you are beginning to find some consolation, as I do, in reflecting upon the numerous and matchless excellencies of one whom England ought to consider as its best guardian, and the world as its most noble ornament. If the sublimity of his genius, the depth and variety of his knowledge, the solidity of his judgment, the gentleness of his private and the moderation of his public conduct, offer themselves to your mind, the sense you entertain of all his amiable and all his venerable qualities, accompanied perhaps by transient and involuntary illusions of his momentary presence among us, may suspend or mitigate your sorrow.

The pleasure I have myself had, though sometimes alloyed by melancholy, in looking back upon the many hours which I have passed in Mr. Fox's company, naturally leads me to consider your lot as highly fortunate, in having

for so many years diligently cultivated, and uninterruptedly enjoyed the confidence of so valuable a man, and in the many endearing recollections which your long and unreserved habits of intimacy with him cannot fail to supply. If you had been called upon to select a friend from the whole human race, where could you have found one endowed as he was with the guileless playfulness of a child, and the most correct and comprehensive knowledge of the world; or distinguished, as he was, by an elegant taste in the dead and living languages, by a thorough acquaintance with the most important events of past and present times, by a profound skill in the history, and by a well founded and well directed reverence for the constitution of his country, and by the keenest penetration into all the nearer and all the remoter consequences of public measures? Where could you have found a statesman so qualified by the impartiality of his spirit, and the extent of his views, to fix upon right measures for the accomplishment of right ends: to separate appearances from realities in the political horizon: to reason down local and temporary prejudices into subjection to the eternal laws of justice, and to infuse confidence into the minds of enlightened foreigners, with whom he was officially to discuss the intricate and jarring claims of powerful and jealous nations? Where could you have

found an orator gifted with properties of eloquence so many and so great, always exciting attention by his ardour and rewarding it by his good sense—always adapting his matter to the subject, and his diction to the matter—never misrepresenting where he undertook only to confute, nor insulting because he had vanquished—instructive without a wish to deceive, and persuasive without an attempt to domineer—manfully disdaining to seize the incidental and subordinate advantages of controversy, and inflexibly intent upon developing the substantial and specific merits of the cause in which he was engaged—eager for victory only as the prize of truth, holding up uncommon principles in the most glowing colours, and dignifying the most common by new combinations—at one moment incorporating wit with argument, and at the next ascending from historical details to philosophical generalization—irresistible from effort, captivating without it, and by turns concise and copious, easy and energetic, familiar and sublime.

Furnished you certainly are with such delicacy of perception and such fullness of information, as qualify you to appreciate that assemblage of intellectual faculties, which, in Mr. Fox, was characterised by variety without disproportion, and by splendour without glare. But you must surely have been charmed again and

again, with those manners which in him were the native expressions of his thoughts, and with that temper which preserved him from the weaknesses of vanity, the corrosions of envy, and the asperities of pride—struck you must have been, equally with that tranquillity and firmness of soul, which appeared so conspicuously through the whole career of his political life. Amidst the fiercest animosities of party contention never did the infidelity of associates, nor the calumnies of foes, destroy his equanimity—In the most alarming state of public ferment, never did the intreaties of his friends, nor the menaces of his accusers, induce him to slacken his exertions in the cause of public liberty—Never was his piercing and ready wit so employed as to violate the delicacies, or abuse the freedom of friendship—Never did the loftiness of his nature permit him to treat any opponent with insolence, or any inferior with contempt. Even amidst the enthusiastic applause of popular assemblies, he never lost for one moment, that sobriety and that magnanimity which forbade him to exult in the conscious pre-eminence of his powers, and attract admiration towards himself at the hazard of the common weal.

I am sure that you will not refuse me your attention, when I endeavour to assuage both your grief and my own, by entering upon a large,

and I hope, an impartial view of Mr. Fox's attainments as a scholar, his powers as a public speaker, and his merits as a statesman.

You, dear Sir, have not ceased to admire the easy flow of numbers, and the varied tints of expression which adorn his poetical effusions—The clearness and purity of his English prose have not often been surpassed, and they may be well described in the language of Suetonius upon the eloquence of Augustus.

Aware of the extraordinary responsibility which a great politician incurs, when he undertakes to record and explain the events of a great political æra, he would have given to his projected History all the advantages which *multa dies*, and *multa litura*, could have procured for it. If he had lived to complete that work, we should have seen many proofs of his capacity to soar into the loftiest style, where the dignity of his subject required amplification and grandeur. Contempt of perfidy, and indignation against cruelty would have called forth those powers in the writer, which we have again and again witnessed with astonishment in the speaker, and when his taste had come in to the aid of his other intellectual attainments, we should have found that his education as a scholar and his pursuits as a statesman, peculiarly qualified him for the most arduous and exalted duties of an historian. His memory seems never to have

been oppressed by the number, or distracted by the variety of the materials which he had gradually accumulated. Never, indeed, will his companions forget the readiness, correctness, and glowing enthusiasm with which he repeated the noblest passages in the best English, French and Italian poets, and in the best epic and dramatic writers of antiquity. But that he should look for relaxation to his understanding, or amusement to his fancy in the charms of poetry, is less remarkable than that he should find leisure and inclination to exercise his talents on the most recondite, and, I add, the most minute topics of criticism. He read the most celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, not only with exquisite taste, but with philological precision, and the mind which had been employed in balancing the fate of kingdoms seemed occasionally, like that of Cæsar, when he wrote upon grammatical Analogy, to put forth its whole might upon the structure of sentences, the etymology of words, the import of particles, the quantity of syllables, and all the nicer distinctions of those metrical canons, which some of our ingenious countrymen have laid down for the different kinds of verse in the learned languages. Even in these subordinate accomplishments he was wholly exempt from pedantry. He could amuse without ostentation, while he instructed without arrogance. He enlarged his

own knowledge of real life by reflecting upon fictitious representations of characters and manners; and by the productions of the comic and the tragic Muse he was prepared to give greater compass to his arguments, greater vivacity to his illustrations, and greater ardour to his remonstrances and warnings in parliamentary discussions. Thus he turned to the most important uses in practice those acquisitions, in which the generality of men are content to look only for the gratification of harmless curiosity, or the employment of vacant hours, for speculative improvement, or literary fame.

I ought particularly to notice that in Euripides and Aristophanes he found the rich treasures of that political wisdom, which in common with other enquirers he sometimes drew from other sources in the works of orators and historians. Critics must often have observed a peculiar resemblance between Mr. Fox and Demosthenes in their disregard of profuse and petty ornaments, in their application of the sound, the salutary and sometimes homely maxims, which common life supplies for the elucidation of politics, in the devotion of all their mind and all their soul and all their strength to a great subject, and in their eagerness to fix upon some pertinent and striking topic, to recur to it frequently, suddenly, forcibly, and upon each recurrence to hold it up in a new light, and point

it in a new direction. But biographers will do well to record that in conversing with a learned friend he professed to receive more delight from Cicero, than from Demosthenes. Experience in this, as in other instances, puts to flight the conclusions which theorists might be prone to draw from apparent likeness in the characteristic traits of style. Similitude is not always the effect of voluntary and conscious imitation, nor does imitation always imply direct and general preference for the purposes of composition. We have been told that Euripides was the favourite writer of Milton in his closet; but in Milton's poetry we often meet with the bolder features and the more vivid colouring which enrapture and astonish us in the tragedies of Æschylus.

From our own experience, you and I can rectify the mistakes, into which persons unacquainted with Mr. Fox have fallen, when they supposed his talent for conversation to be wholly disproportionate to his excellence in public speaking.

He that on no occasion would have borrowed "Garagantua's mouth," may not have been much disposed to summon the whole force of his mind, in the presence of Dr. Johnson, whose Toryism he could endure, because he respected his genius. The plain truth is, that Mr. Fox had neither the general taciturnity of Mr. Addison,

who, "without having nine-pence in his pocket, "could draw for a thousand pounds;" nor the general felicity of Mr. Burke, who, "take him "up where you would, was ready to meet you; "who talked, not from the desire of distinction, "but because he was full; whose conversation, "beyond that of any other man, corresponded "with his general fame; and yet, who, upon "some occasions, was satisfied with ringing the "bell" to our indefatigable, inexhaustible, indomitable Lexicographer. But you and I can look back to many hours, when Mr. Fox was not content to be *auditor tantum*—when, with the utmost alacrity, he would take his share in the liveliest and the gravest discussions—when he trifled without loss of dignity, or disputed without loss of temper—when he opposed, only because he really dissented, and yielded as soon as he was convinced—when, without preparation he overcame the strong, and without display he excelled the brilliant. Sometimes indeed he was indolent, but never dull; and sometimes reserved, but never morose. He was swift to hear, for the purpose of knowing and examining what scholars and men of sense were disposed to communicate, and slow to speak, from unwillingness to grapple with the ostentatious, and to annoy the diffident. Though he commanded the attention of senates, he was not therefore presumptuous enough to slight the

good opinion of wise and learned companions. But he might often meet them with spirits exhausted by intense exertion in public debate, or private reflection. He might carry with him trains of thinking, which were connected with political subjects of high importance, and which produced in him a temporary indifference to literary discussions. He might, in the society even of literary men, have sometimes looked for opportunities of relaxation, rather than exercise. But when silent, he was not contemptuous, and when communicative, he was not vain. Perhaps a general description of his colloquial powers could not be given more properly than by contrasting them with the defects which Johnson imputed to the writings of Dr. Mudge.

Mr. Fox never "grasped more sense than he could hold." He never "took more corn than he could make into meal." "The prospects he opened were wide, but never so distant as to be indistinct."

His exertions, when the importance of the subject, or the cheerfulness of his spirits induced him to make any, were not unworthy of his general fame. But they were not frequent enough to impress common observers with the same admiration which they must have felt from the promptness, the acuteness, and the fertility of Mr. Burke and Dr. Johnson, in almost every company, and upon almost every topic. Let

us, however, remember that the mind which rushed with the impetuosity of a torrent over the broad Level, and the rugged Precipices of debate, was, in the current of common life,

“ Though deep yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull;
“ Strong without rage; without o’erflowing full.”—

that Mr. Fox conversed in private circles as he spoke before a public audience, for the purpose not of triumph, but investigation—that he never crushed his associates by insolent contradiction, nor endeavoured to mislead them by ingenious sophistry—that he listened to every objection with good manners, and answered it with good nature, as well as good sense.

Though Mr. Fox’s reading in metaphysical books was desultory, and perhaps scanty, he possessed many of the greatest advantages which metaphysical studies are supposed to bestow upon the operations of the human understanding. Large and complicated questions ought to be viewed upon every side, and the final determinations of the judgment will be preceded by much suspense and many efforts. Yet the practice of so viewing them often compels ordinary men to seek in confirmed and undistinguishing scepticism some repose from the toil of continual research, or it decoys their vanity into the dogmatical defence of those points which are least accessible to the common ap-

prehensions, or least accordant to the common belief of mankind. But the same practice enabled Mr. Fox to find the shortest way to the stronger probabilities and the more important results, and his good sense led him to acquiesce in them when they were found. In examining the opinions of others he followed the strictest process of the analytic method; and every step which he took brought his hearers farther from obscurity, or nearer to truth. In explaining and supporting his own sentiments, he showed himself master of that wide comprehension and that lucid order, which belong to synthetic reasoning. He awakened curiosity by the bright and massy generalities which he placed in the front of his speeches, and in his progress he impressed conviction by the apposite and close application of them to particular objects. With a kind of intuitive glance he discerned all the equivocal and unequivocal signs of resemblance, and he could calculate with exactness all the properties of causation, whether simple or complex, proximate or remote. He did not disdain to estimate the force of local and temporary circumstances. But in guiding his audience to ultimate decision, he taught them to look beyond those circumstances to the broader character stamped upon human events and human actions by the general laws of the physical and the moral world. For part of this excellence

he perhaps was indebted to the habit which pervaded both his private conversation and his public speeches, and which never permitted his words to stray beside the course, or vary from the form, or swell beyond the size, of the conceptions they were intended to convey.

In addition to the cause which I have just now assigned for the intellectual endowments of Mr. Fox, other causes equally efficacious might be adduced with equal propriety. But it is of more importance for me to remark, that many of those endowments afforded the most direct, constant and powerful aid to his moral qualities. True benevolence is not merely guided, but enlarged and invigorated by true wisdom. It derives from practice that activity and that consistency, the want* of which we are often compelled to deplore in the conduct and even the tempers of philosophers, who have employed the greatest talents in the investigation of moral theories. It teaches all men to sympathize with the sorrows and joys of their fellow-creatures, and impels them to alleviate the one, and to perpetuate or heighten the other. But in Mr. Fox we behold the last, greatest, best, and rarest of its effects—We behold them in the disposition which he manifested, not only to love and encourage virtue, but upon every

* Vid. Cicero; Tuscular. Quæst. lib. i. parag. 4.

proper occasion to admit and to enforce every possible extenuation of "all the sins, negligences and ignorances" to which man is made subject by the will of his Creator; subject, dear Sir, for purposes, sometimes, I grant, inscrutable, but in numberless instances, I contend, visibly righteous and wise.

To the peering and stern genius of modern loyalty, Mr. Fox might have transferred the language of Dr. Jortin, in his propitiatory address to the majesty of modern orthodoxy—

"Invitus Regina, tuo de littore cessi. But "alas, opinion," says the same writer, "is a "Queen who will not accept of such excuses*."

Suspicion, a lowering and sleepless centinel, keeps eternal watch at the door of her council chamber—Treachery wafts every whisper of complaint, from every quarter to her ear—Dogmatism stands tiptoe with all the engines of interpretation at hand, to torture dissent into impiety or treason, before her tribunal—Intolerance gives the signal to her body guards, and when Persecution waves the banner of destruction, legions of frantic and ruthless vassals are ready to sally forth from their dark ambuscade, to raise the war-whoop, unsheath their sabres, and imbrue themselves in the blood of every offender, who presumes to investigate the rights

* Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. ii. p. 307.

of the usurper, hesitates to obey her merciless decrees, or refuses to echo and re-echo her senseless jargon. We cannot therefore wonder, that from bigots in politics Mr. Fox was in danger of incurring the same rough treatment, which Jortin and other worthies have often deprecated from the doughty champions of theology.

What, I would ask, are the offences which subjected him to so much obloquy? Did he debase the dignity of any important cause, by the affectation of singularity, or disturb the course of grave discussion, by perverse cavils, or ostentatious refinements? No.—But in pleading for the social rights of man, beset as they were by perils seen, and unseen, and assailed at once by powerful enemies and perfidious friends, he paid little deference to authority without reason, or to assertion without proof—He looked with equal distrust upon romantic paradoxes, which dazzle superficial observers under the imposing name of discovery, and upon trite and shewy generalities, which are rarely applicable to such new modifications of duty, or such new opportunities for action, as arise from new, blended with the old, relations of individuals and communities—He shewed peculiar dexterity in unravelling the webs of technical sophistry, and peculiar zeal, too, in scattering to the winds, all the mischievous fallacies wrapped up in them by certain disputants, who from the mechanical

influence of their daily employment, direct their attention to the darker side of human characters, and human affairs, who feel their usefulness to consist, rather in enforcing restraints, than regulating encouragements, who too frequently acquire more expertness in imparting plausibility to misrepresentation, than luminousness to truth, who sometimes lose in real wisdom, not less than they gain in artificial subtlety, and who chiefly derive their information from the remote analogies, or arbitrary rules of jurisprudence, rather than from the affinities and contrarieties of political systems, and the diversified energies of moral causes.

Such, dear Sir, seemed to be the opinion of Mr. Fox, when he rose to explain what others had been labouring to distort or to disguise—when he extricated right premises from the knots of wrong conclusions—when he opened some new track to principles, through a long and crowded maze of precedents—when he rescued credulity from the snares spread for its weakness, by the nimble sleights of interpretation, and amidst “the noisy strife of tongues”—when he crushed petulance under the weight of argument—when he vanquished ingenuity by the tactics of common sense—when he set well disciplined facts in array against a column of sturdy assumptions, preceded by raw recruits

of jests and jeers, protected in the more vulnerable quarters, by light hussars of quirks and quibbles, and followed by a sable rear-guard of veteran truisms, ready at any time to swell "the "pomp and circumstance" of wordy war, and to serve like Swiss mercenaries, under any leader, and in any cause. Peculiar to Mr. Fox that opinion was not, for I am acquainted with other persons of deep reflection, and unsullied honour, who hold and avow it; and I have seen, too, something like the effects of it, when flippant quips and solemn see-saws were put to flight by the irresistible wit of Mr. Sheridan, the masterly logic of Mr. Windham, and the stately eloquence of Mr. Pitt. But as Mr. Fox expressed the sentiments to which I allude, only in the discussion of political affairs, I am sure that like other scholars, and other statesmen, he felt a *due*, and therefore a *great* respect, for the knowledge and talents of professional men, upon professional subjects. He would have allowed Æolus* to bluster in his cave, and rule over the winds committed to his charge; but wished to exclude him from exercising any dominion over the ocean, as the nobler prerogative of a higher Deity.

Mr. Fox was not absurd enough to imagine that the study of laws was wholly separate from that of politics. On the contrary, he knew the

* Vid. Æneid, lib. i.

various points in which they were connected, and in the most interesting discussions he illustrated that connexion with a readiness, clearness, and precision, which happily and unexpectedly put an end to the embarrassments, and a check to the refinements of the ablest pleaders, and which might have induced his hearers to suppose that he had been himself “*fortia verbosi natus ad arma Fori**.” He had been the attentive hearer of an Erskine, a Dunning, a Mansfield, a Thurlow, and a Camden. He was the professed admirer of Lord Somers. He felt all the veneration due to the names of a Coke, a Hale, and a Bacon. But he distinguished between the duties of a legislative assembly, and a court of judicature—between the letter, and the spirit of law itself—between the principles of a science, and circumstances which accompany the application of it, in the prejudices and peculiarities of its professors. He thought that men who could settle very well disputes about *Ruta cæsa* and *Caduca legata*, and take due cognizance of greater crimes than the theft of triumphal spoils, were not the fittest persons to have provided against the defeat at Cannæ—to have conducted a negotiation in the *Bellum Mithridaticum*—to have counteracted the sagacity of Hannibal, when he gave effect to the *perjuria Punici*

* Vid. Ovid. Trist. lib. iv. Eleg. 9.

furoris, or to have appeased the dreadful contentions of a Sylla and a Marius*. He would not have been disposed to say of any class among his contemporaries, what was said of old by Mægillus, ὅσοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὶ εἰσὶ†. But he had observed, that the habits of reasoning which some men almost mechanically contract from long practice in their own profession, produce a narrowness and obliquity in their way of thinking, upon subjects partially or incidentally related to it. He seems to have suspected, too, that the frequent triumphs of subtlety might now and then in speculation, weaken our natural love of truth, and in practice, generate a dangerous indifference to those plain, and salutary rules of conduct for which we have daily and hourly occasion, in the business of common life. He would have admitted with little hesitation, the justness of a remark I have read in some eminent writer whose name I forget, that the human understanding has opportunities for continual exercise, and is sometimes put to its fullest stretch in the buffetings of legal questions—that the countless and fine-spun distinctions which occur in them, may require perspicacity as well as diligence, and that they are not wholly without their use in the so-

* Vid. Martial, lib. vi. Epigr. 19. † Vid. Plato de Leg. lib. i.

lution of those doubts which present themselves to the strongest minds, from the magnitude, or the singularity, or the intricacy of cases, from the fluctuations of general opinion, from the contrarieties of testimony equally credible, and from the imperceptible preponderancy of opposite claims, when they are weighed only in the balance of equity.

But he might have contended, that the same industry in amassing materials, whether cumbersome or tractable—the same keenness in prying out distinctions, whether substantial or shadowy—the same volubility in bandying technical phrases, whether dainty or uncouth—the same eagerness to flee for shelter to the decisions of some renowned sage—the same proneness to confront with them opposite dogmas, undisturbed by examination, and hallowed by antiquity—the same briskness in starting objections—the same lubricity in eluding them—the same stiffness in stickling for them, and the same dexterity in plucking them from the gripe of confutation, were in a degree, not very unequal, the peculiar characteristics of the old scholastic doctors and their followers. It has been said, indeed, that casuists and advocates, though they understand, assume, and appeal to the essential differences between right and wrong, too frequently enfeeble the general sense of obligation, by those hopes of impunity which are excited by their

skilfulness in providing subterfuges, and administering palliatives. Be this as it may, the schoolmen were useful pioneers in the rugged paths of knowledge, and have a claim to praise for indefatigable activity—Their researches preserved the human mind through many ages from the slumber of ignorance and the obduracy of barbarism—They prepared it by incessant exercise for those exertions which in succeeding times were directed with happier effect to more intelligible, and more important objects—They mingled some truth with many errors, and though inferior, very inferior in usefulness, to adepts in the study of that science which sometimes gives shape and colour to the substance of virtue, controls the will by strong and visible sanctions, and far oftener promotes than impedes the interests of society, yet they kept alive a spirit of attention to learning, and of respect for morality and religion. In all the intellectual pursuits of man, where there is much use, there will be some abuse—But perhaps that time is not wholly wasted which instructs men in the art of employing one trifle to counteract the practical mischiefs of another, and even the havoc made by the intestine warfare of sophisms eventually leaves a wider and clearer field for the culture of common sense.

That my mind should pass from the ingenuity of lawyers to the subtlety of schoolmen,

will not surprise you, when you recollect the observations of Blackstone, in his chapter on the rise, progress, and gradual improvements of the laws of England. In describing the substitution of Norman for Saxon Jurisprudence, he tells us, that “ the age in which it took place, and “ those immediately succeeding, were the æra of “ refinement and subtlety.—That the divinity “ and law of those times were frittered into lo- “ gical distinctions, and drawn out into meta- “ physical subtleties, with a skill most amaz- “ ingly artificial; but which served to no other “ purpose than to show the vast powers of the “ human intellect, however vainly or preposter- “ ously employed—that law in particular, which “ (being intended for universal reception) ought “ to be a plain rule of action, became a science “ of the greatest intricacy—and that those scho- “ lastic reformers have transmitted their dialect “ and finesses to posterity, so interwoven in the “ body of our legal polity, that they cannot “ now be taken out without a manifest injury “ to the substance.” They who employ their abilities in a science accompanied by such a dialect and such subtleties cannot wholly escape their unfavourable effects upon the human understanding; and if a statesman were to draw his principles of action, or his turn of reasoning from a political work of Thomas Aquinas, upon

the Republic of Aristotle, the scholastic character would surely be impressed upon his language, his opinions, and his measures.

Take notice, dear Sir, that while I am stating Mr. Fox's opinion, I have no wish to dissemble my own. I do not draw, as he would not, general and invidious conclusions from particular and offensive instances. I distinguish, as he would have done, between the profound and the superficial, the discreet and the forward, the honest and the venal, in every class of mankind. I know, as he did, the indispensable and supreme importance of law itself to the well being of every community, the energies of every government, and the safety, I had almost said, the innocence of every individual. I am scarcely acquainted with any profession where the strongest powers of the human intellect, but assisted, you will always remember, by a liberal education, and directed by virtuous principles, can find a more extensive range for observation upon the motives and consequences of human action in *private life*, or be employed with more beneficial effect to human happiness in the ordinary intercourse of society. Like Mr. Fox, I have myself the honour to rank among my friends persons who deserve all the professional fame which they have acquired, and who deserve it the more, because they are gentlemen, scholars, and philosophers, as well as successful

pleaders, because their highly cultivated understandings enable them to discern the rules which ought to guide, and the boundaries which ought to *limit*, the application of their professional notions and usages to politics, and above all, because they would disdain to barter their integrity for office, and prostitute their great abilities and great knowledge in the service of corruption and despotism.

Instead of wasting his time upon doubtful and unprofitable topics of controversy, Mr. Fox watched the effects of the controversial spirit upon religious establishments and sects; and while he respected the ancient and salutary privileges of the one, he paid a proper regard to the civil rights of the other. This impartiality arose, not from a secret and criminal indifference to religion itself, but from his attention to the various kinds and degrees of influence which the more and the less rational modifications of it appear to have under various circumstances, upon private morals and the public peace—from his knowledge of the instructive lessons which history furnishes, upon the inefficacy as well as the injustice of multiplied restraints, and from his dread of the mischievous consequences which have arisen in our own, and in other countries, when persecution, direct or indirect, has long preyed upon the spirits of honest men, and when

opportunities have suddenly started up for religious zeal to unite with political discontent, in avenging by one effort, without discrimination and without mercy, the real or supposed wrongs of many preceding generations—He therefore acted, as well as reasoned, in conformity to the well-founded observation of Mr. Burke, that “our constitution is not made for great, general, “proscriptive exclusions”—and that “sooner “or later, it will destroy them, or they will “destroy it*.”

Bent upon promoting the solid interests of his countrymen, by intelligible as well as honourable expedients, and unwearied in surmounting the obstacles which passion, or prejudice, or selfishness might have raised around them, Mr. Fox was neither awed by proscription, nor beguiled by novelty—He made no surrender of his conviction to his ambition—He entered into no compromise between his duties to the higher, and to the lower classes, nor did his employments and connections as a politician, blunt his sensibility as a man. Ready he was, not to irritate nor delude, but by regulations, or perhaps indulgencies, to protect those fellow subjects who are inevitably doomed to toil and die without the cheering hope of distinction, and who suffering much, may be pardoned for the

* Vid. Mr. Burke's Letter to Sir H. Langrish.

infirmity of fearing more, from “ the scornfulness of the wealthy, and the despitefulness of the proud”—ready to procure for them the attentions and aids which substantial justice would grant without reluctance, and sound discretion even proffer without solicitation, to their wants, their numbers, their rights from nature, and their usefulness to society—ready to put their reason, their gratitude, and their instinctive sense of self preservation, and self interest, on the side of a government, by which they experimentally found themselves to be mildly and equitably treated, and thus to soothe many of the galling and dismal feelings which lurk and throb within the breast of man, from the consciousness of neglected indigence, slighted merit, and weakness alarmed by insult bordering upon oppression.

Doubtless he discerned with equal sagacity, and would have opposed nearly with equal steadiness, the silent encroachments, and the rapid strides of tyranny—But he never expressed, nor entertained, any unseemly, or fantastic, or virulent prejudice against royalty—He praised with ardour, the memory of good kings in every age—He unfeignedly and uniformly approved of the kingly office as established in this country, where by the provisions of law, and with the concurrence of general opinion, directed and animated by general experience, it confers great

power, connected with great duties, and where the discharge of those duties is most honourable to the sovereign, and most beneficial to the people.

That *negligentia** *non ingrata* which Cicero and our friend admired in style, was diffused through his behaviour to persons of all ranks. It was the native ease and frankness of a mind reposing on the consciousness of its own strength, and disdaining to force attention by turbulent self-importance, or to conciliate favour by appearing to be what it was not. Among judicious observers of the real man, it had the same effect which artists ascribe to wet drapery on well-wrought statues. It delighted his friends, it softened for a while his enemies, and it offended only vain and testy persons who over-rated perhaps their own consequence, and who had been taught to estimate the propriety of demeanour, by its studied and multiplied formalities. But even the chronicles of slander furnished by court gossips, were never tainted with a fouler calumny than that which charges Mr. Fox with want of personal respect to his royal master.

Though Demosthenes†, before he went on his embassy, had boasted that he would “ sew

* Vid. Cicero, in Orator. 77.

† Vid. Leland's Life of Philip, book iii. section 2, and the marginal references to Æschines.

“ up Philip’s mouth with a dried bulrush,” yet he was scared into confusion and silence by that grandeur of mien which he for the first time witnessed in the man of Macedon, and by the novelty of his own situation, when speaking, not before a coarse and giddy populace, but a resolute, sagacious, and mighty monarch. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, had not learned his manners, as Demosthenes did, in the school of tumultuous assemblies, or from the lessons of noisy demagogues—He was himself a gentleman much above the common level, both by birth and connections—He, from his boyhood, had lived with ministers, and the adherents of ministers—In his youth he had visited the most polished courts in Europe, and as the society of princes and nobles was familiar to him, he had acquired the habits of politeness without servility, and freedom without impertinence—In the presence of young Ammon’s son*, he, in all probability, would not have carried one shoulder too high, nor have imitated the soothsayer, who, for the purpose of adulation, violated the idiom of the Greek language†—In the palace of Augustus he would not have meanly cast down his head to gratify an emperor who prided himself on the piercing brightness of his eyes—In transacting business of state with Charles the Sixth, he

* Vid. Preface to Pope’s Satires. † Vid. Plutarch, in Vit. Alexand.

would not have gone away satisfied with the confused, inarticulate, unmeaning gibberish which that sovereign employed to disguise his own thoughts, and to put ambassadors under the necessity of standing aloof. Though free from the arrogant temper of Chrysippus*, he might have so far resembled that philosopher, as not to dedicate any of his writings to sceptered patrons. But surely the man in whom the *asperitas† agrestis et incóncinna* was never seen in his intercourse with equals or inferiors, was the most unlikely person in the world to gratify his pride or his spleen, by presuming to tell a king not “to stand between himself and the sun.” He had been accustomed to pay honour to persons of all ranks, wheresoever honour was due, nor could he upon any occasion forget that in this country, where the kingly office is the great fountain of external distinction, Usage and Laws have wisely appointed every mark of external homage, which gesture or language can express. He had not, I must acknowledge, the same pretensions to urbanity with that smooth courtier‡, the humble servant to “all human kind, who when his tongue could “scarce stir, brought out this, ‘If where I’m “going, I could serve you, Sir?’ ” He is said

* Vid. Diogen. Laert. lib. vii. segn. 185. † Vid. Horace, Epistle 18. lib. i. ‡ See Pope’s Moral Essays, Epistle 1.

to have dealt not very profusely, “ in the holi-
 “ day* and lady terms” which warble in a draw-
 ing room—Perhaps in the hearing of majesty it-
 self, he sometimes delivered, and enforced his own
 opinions, with that earnestness which became a
 great man, discharging great duties, and with
 that plainness of air, and tone, and diction, which
 is not very usually found among those who
 crouch that they may be noticed or rewarded,
 and flatter, though they would not hesitate to
 betray—This, I am confident, was the very head
 and “ front of his offending†,” and no more;
 for no more did I ever hear from persons, whose
 high situation gave them easy and frequent ac-
 cess to their sovereign, and some of whom were
 not much prejudiced in favour of Mr. Fox.
 You and I, dear Sir, have more than once been
 annoyed with the story, and were it true, we
 should blush for our friend—But I have never
 been able to trace it beyond the prattle of those
 gaudy triflers, whose busy hum, and mischievous
 whispers ought not to be tolerated for one mo-
 ment, in quarters where the temptations to lying
 are so strong, the opportunities so numerous, and
 the consequences so pernicious. Let us then
 dismiss the silly tale, as unworthy not only of the
 smallest credit, but the smallest attention, from
 men of sense and honour—Let us leave it in full

* Vid. Act 1, Part i. of Henry IV. † Vid. Othello.

possession of one privilege to which it really is entitled—the privilege of being reported only by the malevolent, and believed only by the foolish.

Mr. Fox knew well that, not only among ourselves, but in ages less enlightened, and in countries less free, than our own, some men might acquire a strong partiality towards theories in favour of republicanism, from the peculiar structure of their minds, or the peculiar course of their studies. But he also knew, that upon questions of such magnitude, virtuous men pause before they press forward from theory to practice, and that rash men would be most effectually appeased or restrained, if statesmen, neither flattering the prince, nor deceiving the people, would adhere to the genuine principles of the constitution. He knew yet farther, that a government administered according to those principles, must have little to fear from visionary projectors, or turbulent demagogues—that by the evidence of “good works” it could soon “put to silence “the ignorance of foolish men;” that confiding in its own rectitude, and its own strength, it would be slow to infer wicked intention from erroneous opinion, slow to employ severity rather than lenity, even as the instrument of prevention, slow to accuse unless it were able to convict, and slow to punish, unless it were unable to reclaim. If these be wrongs, the blame seems to lie with Nature for disposing Mr. Fox

to commit them, and with the constitution for supplying him with so many reasons to think himself right.

Mr. Fox, though not an adept in the use of political wiles, was very unlikely to be the dupe of them.—He was conversant in the ways of man, as well as in the contents of books.—He was acquainted with the peculiar language of states, their peculiar forms, and the grounds and effects of their peculiar usages.—From his earliest youth, he had investigated the science of politics in the greater and the smaller scale—He had studied it in the records of history, both popular and rare, in the conferences of ambassadors, in the archives of royal cabinets, in the minuter detail of memoirs, and in collected or straggling anecdotes of the wrangles, intrigues, and cabals, which springing up in the secret recesses of courts, shed their baneful influence on the determinations of sovereigns, the fortune of favorites, and the tranquillity of kingdoms.—But that statesmen of all ages, like priests of all religions, are in all respects alike, is a doctrine the propagation of which he left, as an inglorious privilege, to the misanthrope, to the recluse, to the factious incendiary, and to the unlettered multitude. For himself, he thought it no very extraordinary stretch of penetration or charity, to admit that human nature is every where

nearly as capable of emulation in good, as in evil.—He boasted of no very exalted heroism, in opposing the calmness and firmness of conscious integrity, to the shuffling and slippery movements, the feints in retreat, and feints in advance, the dread of being over-reached, or detected in attempts to over-reach, and all the other humiliating and mortifying anxieties of the most accomplished proficient in the art of diplomacy.—He reproached himself for no guilt, when he endeavoured to obtain that respect and confidence, which the human heart unavoidably feels in its intercourse with persons, who neither wound our pride, nor take aim at our happiness, in a war of hollow and ambiguous words.—He was sensible of no weakness in believing that politicians, who, after all, “know only as they are known,” may, like other human beings, be at first the involuntary creatures of circumstances, and seem incorrigible from the want of opportunities or incitements to correct themselves; that bereft of the pleas usually urged in vindication of deceit, by men who are fearful of being deceived, they, in their official dealings with him, would not wantonly lavish the stores they had laid up for huckstering in a traffic, which ceasing to be profitable, would begin to be infamous; and that possibly, here and there, if encouraged by example, they might learn to prefer the shorter

process, and surer results of plain dealing, to the delays, the vexations, and the uncertain or transient success, both of old-fashioned and new-fangled chicanery.

In these sentiments, which evinced at once his penetration and his liberality, Mr. Fox had the concurrence of a friend, who had reached, I believe, his sixtieth year, without having had recourse to deceit in his own personal or professional intercourse with society, and without envying the exploits of the most skilful and fortunate deceivers. Many, he would say, are the errors, and many the faults, which leave room for a man to rally after detection, and to regain the good opinion of others, or to bear up against their censures. But forlorn indeed is the condition of cunning, when left defenceless by the failure of its own spells, it has been dragged into open day. In a moment the sorceress shrinks into a crippled, ugly, dwarfish hag, excites contempt without appeasing suspicion, and is hunted down with derision, by the brave for its deformity, and by the timorous for its impotency.

For political investigation, in which principles and the practical decisions resting on them, often hinge upon a single phrase, Mr. Fox was qualified, not merely by his prompt recollection of parallel cases recorded in history, or preserved in state papers, but by his just and distinct conceptions of those abstract terms, which,

though employed very frequently, are sometimes understood very imperfectly. Power, he was well aware, though it does not enter as an integral part, into our notion of right, is an inseparable adjunct to it, and in scholastic language may be denominated the conditional cause; for who would seriously insist upon a right, without *having* any present, or *expecting* any future power to use that which he now possesses, or that which he would hereafter obtain? Would not right, if under such circumstances it deserved the name, be at once barren to individuals and injurious to society? While it produced no materials for additional advantage to the claimant, would it not lessen the general stock of happiness, by excluding other occupiers, whose talents or labours employed upon the object, would contribute to the increase of that stock? In practice, then, mischief arises, not from the mere act of uniting the idea of power with the idea of right, but from the untoward propensity of mankind to make *their own* rights co-extensive with *their own* powers—from their propensity to envy and undermine the superior pretensions of others, when they can be enforced by superior might—from their propensity to despise, and to tread under foot such pretensions, while they lean for support upon reason alone. The propensities here enumerated, and other causes which more or less co-operate with them,

the absence of an intelligent, patient, and upright mediator, dissembled ambition in the stronger party, ill-timed sturdiness in the weaker, habits of inveterate jealousy in both, caprice roving after experiments, obstinacy clinging to precedents, stern commands from sovereigns, and wry instructions from ministers—these are the obstacles, which, for the most part, clog political negociations, and which occasion astonishment and chagrin to superficial observers, at their tardy progression, sudden interruptions, and unexpected or unwelcome issues.

Whatsoever subtlety some men may affect, and whatsoever distinctions other men may confound in their *words*; yet, in their *actions* they rarely contend for rights, without looking directly or indirectly to expediency, to good to be now enjoyed and protected, or good to be hereafter attained and secured. In public, no doubt, as in private affairs, the general fact is that utility, upon the whole, is the measure of duty; and the general rule is, that duty itself is to be preferred to some immediate gratification supposed to be within our reach, upon the ground of its tendency to procure some distant gratification of higher value. But the difficulty lies in seeing the ultimate connection between utility and duty, in marking the intermediate relations of their several parts, in forming a right judgment upon the objects which successively

present themselves to our minds before we chuse finally, in keeping our attention steadily fixed upon those judgments, and in guarding against the undue influence of circumstances fortuitously or slightly conjoined in our apprehensions, with means, during the process of deliberation, or with ends, at the moment of election.

Now, dear Sir, if Mr. Fox, in his discussions upon state affairs opened to each party a safe and honourable path, by which the expectations of each might be gratified, without the ignominy of compulsory flight, or the hazards of protracted contest—if, in asserting rights, he not only looked to their origin and past effects, but was disposed to modify them in prudent and honest accommodation to the present interests and the present condition of the parties—if he heard without impatience, the proposals, or objections, or pretensions of men grown hoary in watching and working the complex machinery of politics—If he answered them without haughtiness, or indecision, or duplicity—if he set before them the clearest and largest views of expediency itself—let us not judge so harshly of our common nature, as to imagine that he was indebted for his success, solely and exclusively to the operation of principles un-mixedly selfish. By enabling men to understand more than they understood before, he got the power of persuading them to act better

than they would otherwise have acted. By meeting them fairly and dispassionately, on the grounds upon which they had been accustomed to reason, he induced them to follow him the more readily, when he went on to other and stronger grounds. He drew their assent to his opinions in a current of thinking so smooth, or with transitions so easy, as to make their very conversion appear to themselves the legitimate effect of their own knowledge, and their own reflection. He gradually, and almost imperceptibly loosened the bonds which held them in captivity to prejudice, to habit, or even to confused and narrow perceptions of their real good. He thus prepared them for being directly and voluntarily actuated by that sense of justice, which is suspended, not destroyed, by the first tumultuous suggestions of self interest, which engages pride, not vanity, as an auxiliary to sound discretion, and which infuses even into political measures, a kind of conscious security, and conscious dignity, not very often derived from calculations of loss and gain—from a spirit, which, let it resist systematically or irregularly, may itself be resisted indefinitely—from rampant eagerness to grasp, and from churlish reluctance to concede.

Looking upon force as the first expedient usually adopted by coarser minds, but the last upon which men truly enlightened will fix

their choice, and sensible of the illusions and reciprocal injuries which arise from the want of a common umpire in enforcing the laws of nations, Mr. Fox always found a faithful arbiter within his own bosom. To the decisions of that arbiter he appealed, in some perplexing negotiations between his own and foreign countries. In conducting them, he entered into the feelings and views of other men, without dissembling his own. He compared that which under all circumstances each might demand, with that which each might concede. He rescued concession itself from every debasing appearance of submission. He strengthened his own title to the ultimate attainment, or the undisturbed use of great and lasting advantages, by the sacrifice of such as are subordinate, fleeting, or dubious ; and he averted the odium which attends superior power, by subjecting the exercise of it to the sacred supremacy of reason. He anticipated, and sometimes experienced the loss of popularity and of station, for venturing to sustain the part which alone would make him deserving of either ; and he sought for repose in the approbation of his own mind. But if patriotism upon other occasions, and by other men, were thus tempered by justice, would governments be less stable, ministers less praiseworthy, subjects less prosperous, or princes less venerable ? All profess to admire the same plain rule which

he followed, and misguided by ambition or selfishness, they hastily condemned him for following it openly and constantly. Mr. Fox despised, as I do, the quaint devices of that philanthropy, which cast into deep shade the virtue of loving our country, and tricked out in garish confusion, the social relations of one people to another. But he cherished that love most sincerely, and he applied it to the best uses, by his profound knowledge, and resolute observance of the duties which those relations prescribe.

Our friend, as I have often remarked to you, had deeply explored the essential and characteristic properties of mixed governments, and upon balancing their comparative conveniencies and inconveniencies, he avowedly preferred them to the more simple forms. He saw in them more correctives for occasional abuses, and more inherent powers for general co-operation in the maintenance of social order. Yet he was aware, that sometimes from the slow, and sometimes from the sudden, operation of external circumstances, liberty may degenerate into licentiousness, and loyalty into servility, and from temperament, as well as reflection, he avoided, and exhorted others to avoid, both extremes. * In the wayward passions, and jarring interests of mankind, he saw all the latent sources from which "offences must come," and without hav-

ing recourse to the judicial interpositions of Heaven, he believed that from the fearful and wonderful efficacy of those unalterable and irresistible laws which govern the affairs of kingdoms, evil, sooner or later, would overtake the real aggressor. Upon controverted questions of war, he said with more consistency than Johnson, and with more sincerity, perhaps, than some of his contemporaries, "*cuncta prius tentanda;*" and separating necessity from convenience, he acted up to his professions upon several trying occasions. But as to peace, he loved it, he sought it, he "ensued" it, he was largely gifted with the "sweetest phrase*" of it, because to himself, as well as to some unknown personage in a work which he read with fondness, Peace seemed to include all the constituents of that good, which philosophers have vainly sought in other quarters, and speciously represented under other names. Gifted with a faculty of presage not often equalled, in marking the signs of the times, and the bearings of general causes upon particular situations,¹⁸¹² he wished reform every where set up as a barrier against swift and sweeping destruction; and in order to facilitate the attainment of it at home, he enlisted himself, not in a ruffian band of Democrats, but in "the noble army" of Patriots.

* Vid. Othello.

Hence, at a juncture to which my thoughts will often be turned, because it forms a memorable æra in his life, he took the station pointed out to him by his judgment and his feelings. Favoured by little assistance from partizans, and having no other guidance than his own sense of imperious duty, he was reviled by all bad men; and even by some good men he was blamed for unseasonable and unbecoming pertinacity. Yet his candour prevented him from scoffing at the mistakes and prepossessions of other men with rude contempt—His good sense and his good nature did not permit him to slight the censure of those whom he had been accustomed to esteem—He was pierced with sorrow—not paralysed by fear—and he journeyed onward, though wild beasts from the forest yelled around him, and though “a lion stood
“in the way.”

There is one topic, dear Sir, upon which I should be inclined to be quite silent, if I did not foresee that silence would, in some quarters, expose Mr. Fox to the suspicion of impiety, and myself to the imputation of indifference. Something therefore must be said upon it, and I will endeavour to say it intelligibly and ingenuously.

Of Mr. Fox's religious tenets, then, I cannot speak so fully, as from motives, not of impertinent curiosity, but of friendly anxiety, you may

be disposed to wish. But I have often remarked that, upon religious subjects he did not talk irreverently, and generally appeared unwilling to talk at all before strangers or friends. When we look back to the studies, and indeed the frailties of his youth, and the employments of his manhood, it were idle to suppose that he was deeply versed in theological lore. Yet, from conversations which have incidentally passed between him and myself, I am induced to think that, according to the views he had taken of Christianity, he did not find any decisive evidence for several doctrines, which many among the wisest of the sons of men have believed with the utmost sincerity, and defended with the most powerful aids of criticism, history, and philosophy. But he occasionally professed, and from his known veracity we may be sure that he inwardly felt, the highest approbation of its pure and benevolent precepts. Upon these, as upon many other topics, he was too delicate to wound the feelings of good men, whose conviction might be firmer, and more distinct than his own. He was too wise to insult with impious mockery the received opinions of mankind, when they were favourable to morality. He preserved the same regard to propriety, the same readiness to attend to information, when it was offered to him without sly circumvention, or pert defiance, the same respect for the attainments and the

virtues of those who differed from him, and the same solicitude for the happiness of his fellow creatures. Thus much may be said with propriety, because it can be said with truth; and glad should I be, if it were in my power to say more upon a point of character, which, in such a man, could not escape the observation of the serious, the misconceptions of the ignorant, and the censures of the uncharitable.

We naturally feel, and we ought to feel, satisfaction, from the concurrence of eminent men in our own opinions upon the most interesting of all questions which tend to exercise or improve the human mind. But it may be doubted, whether the real interests of piety be eventually promoted by officious, severe, inquisitorial scrutiny into the origin and extent of speculative scruples, which the persons who unhappily, and it may be unavoidably, experience them, are too discreet to proclaim, and too decorous to disseminate. Learned, sagacious, and truly devout enquirers are, beyond all other men, aware of the difficulties which sometimes surround the "*secret things*" that belong to religion; and perhaps, in many cases, it is for the Searcher of all hearts alone to determine either the merit of assent, or the demerit of suspense. Be this as it may, the spirit of Christianity does not warrant us in passing harsh judgment upon the thoughts of individuals, when they are unaccom-

panied by presumptuous words, or immoral deeds. Common justice forbids us to confound the unoffending sceptic with the loquacious and profane scoffer, and in times like the present, common prudence seems to require that he "who is not against us," should in some degree be considered as "for us." He at least has not availed himself of that impunity, which, in order to guard against the encroachments of persecution, is granted, even in Christian countries, to the avowal of unbelief. He does not aspire to that praise, which some men arrogantly claim, when they set up their infidelity as a proof of their own intellectual vigour, their extensive researches, and their glorious elevation above the credulity of the vulgar, and the terrors of the superstitious. Contemplating with reverence, and sometimes with amazement, the moral government of the world, he may feel, in common with many enlightened and pious believers, that "clouds and darkness are around" the Deity, while he acknowledges the force of many consolatory proofs, that "Righteousness and Judgment are the habitation of his seat."

If the rank and the talents of Lord Bolingbroke gave undue weight to the dangerous opinions, which after his death, but by his direction, were sent into the world, it is of importance for you and me to remind our countrymen that other persons adorned by rank equal

or nearly equal, and endowed with talents not unequal, have more or less countenanced other and better opinions. Within our own memories, Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox were the great political luminaries of this country. But however they may have differed from each other in matters of "doubtful disputation," and however any of them might have erred in other matters, which to our apprehensions are clear; yet, as Englishmen, we have reason to rejoice that they were too well principled, and too well disposed, to prostitute their abilities in the service of infidelity—that they did not misemploy their authority, in bringing contempt upon the established religion of their country—that they avoided the guilt, which the nobles of a neighbouring country are known to have incurred, when, misled by their vanity, they encouraged the common people to look with distrust and disrespect, upon the guides of their faith, and the guardians of their virtue. I leave it to historians to bestow similar commendation upon three or four distinguished but discarded statesmen who are now living, and whom I forbear to name, lest my testimony, though well-founded, and perhaps well-timed, should be imputed to any unworthy motive. It is for my superiors in station and fortune to profit by their example, and it is for myself to pay the homage of my heart to their unostentatious virtues and

noiseless piety. "Parco nominibus viventium :
 "veniet Eorum Laudi Suum tempus: ad poste-
 "ros enim durabit Virtus, non pervenit in-
 "vidiam*."

Let us pass on to other topics, which concern the orator, rather than the man.

The most severe and fastidious critic would hardly withhold the praise of originality from the manner of Mr. Fox's eloquence, and perhaps no public speaker has an equal claim to the encomium which Quintilian bestowed upon the philosophical writings of Brutus. "Scias eum sentire quæ dicit f." Systematically Mr. Fox imitated no man, and to no man, who is not endowed with the same robustness of intellect, and the same frankness of disposition, is he a model for imitation. The profuse imagery of Mr. Burke, and the lofty sententiousness of Mr. Pitt, have produced many followers among the "tumidos, ac sui jactantes, et ambitiosos" "institores eloquentiæ‡." But the simple and native grandeur of Mr. Fox is likely to stand alone in the records of English oratory. Every man of taste would abandon the hope of resembling him in the rapidity of his elocution, in the quickness and multiplicity of his conceptions, in the inartificial and diversified structure of his diction, in the alertness of his escapes

* Vid. Quintilian, lib. iii. cap. 1. † Vid. lib. x. cap. 1.

‡ Vid. Quintil. lib. xi. cap. 1.

from objections which we should have pronounced insuperable, in the fresh interest he poured into topics which seemed to be exhausted, and in the unexpected turn he gave to parliamentary conflicts, which had already exercised the prowess of veteran combatants. Every man of sense, if he reflects upon these transcendental excellencies, will cease to wonder at the complaints which hearers in the gallery, and hearers on the floor of the senate, have so often made of their inability to follow Mr. Fox through all his impetuous sallies, his swift marches, and his sudden evolutions—to calculate at the moment all the value of arguments acute without refinement, and ponderous without exaggeration—to discern all the sources and all the bearings of one observation, when, without any respite to their attention, they were called away to listen to another, equally apposite, sound and comprehensive.

The openings of his speeches were, I grant, sometimes slovenly and uninteresting, and sometimes he seemed to be deserted by words, when his mind was oppressed by crowds of thought which outran his powers of utterance, and which it was impossible for any resolution to repress, or any ingenuity to methodise, instantaneously. But as he advanced he never failed to summon up growing strength with the

growing importance of the subject—never slackened his pace for the sake of momentary relief to himself from intense exertion—never digressed designedly for the mere purpose of amusing or deceiving his audience, nor ever stumbled without the power of rising from his fall with increased vigour and increased speed. In the close, he rarely professed to assist the indolent by recapitulation, or endeavoured to soothe the captious by apology: he disdained to catch applause by a glittering sentiment or a sonorous period: he said what at the instant appeared fittest to be said, and according to the different states of his own mind, or the different characters of the question, he was temperate without languor, earnest without turbulence, pithy without quaintness, or solemn without grimace.

The luminousness and regularity of his premeditated speeches are, I believe, universally acknowledged, and yet in preparing even them, however convinced he might be with Cleanthes "*artem esse potestatem, quæ viam et rationem efficiat,*" he seemed never to forget "*desinere artem esse, si appareat*.*" But they who impute a frequent and unbecoming neglect of method to his extemporaneous effusions should be reminded, that in arrangement, as well as expression, genius may sometimes "snatch a grace

* Vid. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 18, and lib. iv. cap. 2.

“beyond the reach of art.” Mr. Fox was not accustomed, like Hortensius, “argumenta diducere in digitos, et propositionum ac partitionum leporem captare,” and for this, as well as other reasons, the speeches of Mr. Fox, when we read them, are not exposed to the remark which a critic of antiquity made upon Hortensius, “apparet placuisse aliquid eo dicente, quod ‘legentes non invenimus*.’” Mr. Fox did not bestrew his exordiums with technical phrases coined in the mintage of rhetoric. He did not tacitly compliment the sagacity of his hearers, nor entrap them into admiration of his own precision, by loud and reiterated professions of solicitude to be precise. He did not begin with requiring their attention to a long and elaborate series of divisions, and then, insidiously throw in some extraneous matter to make them overlook the studied violation of the order before proposed, to catch the credulous by surprise, and to let the unwary imagine that a difficulty had been solved, because the intention of solving it had been confidently announced. His transitions were indeed abrupt, but not offensive. They exercised our judgment, but did not perplex or mislead it. Artless and eager he pushed onwards where inferior speakers would have been anxiously employed in anticipating

* Vid. Quintil. lib. xi. cap. 3.

petty cavils, in deprecating perverse interpretations, in stimulating the dull, and flattering the attentive. If a vivid conception sprung up in his mind, he chased it till he had seized and laid open every property which belonged to his subject, and upon quitting it, he without effort returned to the leading points of the debate.

Considered as a leader of opposition, who was to investigate the reasons assigned for public measures, Mr. Fox seldom put forth his strength in reply, and perhaps they who engage in it sometimes find themselves exposed to inconveniences, which more than counterbalance the advantages of arbitrary selection. A speaker may be compelled to pursue the track pointed out by his antagonist, or to irritate a weary and impatient audience by detailing the circumstances which induce him to strike into another path. He may be required to embody what is scattered in the mass of speeches previously delivered by other men—to restore to its right place what had been pushed aside from it by a crafty, or headstrong, or blundering disputant—to separate what had been confounded—to elucidate what had been darkened—to bring forward what had been overlooked—to lay bare the unsoundness of premises already admitted, and the fallacy of conclusions already approved—to strip the mask from specious imposture, and to break the spells of misapplied eloquence. Thus

arduous is the task of reply ; and it were useless to inquire whether Mr. Fox was prevented from frequently undertaking it by the warmth of his temper, by the consciousness of his ability to develope truth in another form, or by his fearlessness of sophistry however dexterous, and declamation however splendid. But that he was thoroughly qualified for performing such a task we have better testimony than the eulogies of his admirers, or the concessions of his enemies, and we may find that testimony in the general practice of his keen-eyed competitor. Even Mr. Pitt, though he was himself eminently skilful in reply, seems indirectly to have given Mr. Fox credit for equal skill. Hence with every advantage in his favour from popular opinion and official information, he rarely delivered his own opinions till his impetuous, and sometimes incautious, antagonist had enabled him to discern what to attack or to defend, to enforce or to disguise. Great, I allow, under any circumstances, and in any large assembly, must be the fascination of such a speaker as Mr. Pitt, from the fulness of his tones, the distinctness of his articulation, the boldness of his spirit, the sharpness of his invectives, the plausibility of his statements, and the readiness, copiousness and brilliancy of his style. But I suspect that he was indebted for much of his success to the deliberate and habitual reservation of his strength to undermine

what he could not overthrow, to crush by contradiction what he could not distort by misrepresentation, to expatiate on the weaker side of the arguments adduced by his opponents, to thrust back the stronger from the view of his hearers, and to efface the conviction left upon their minds by a mighty rival; when having risen professedly as an answerer, he could without detection and without resistance employ every ingenious artifice, and every vehement struggle in making the last impression by his own last words.

You have sometimes complained to me of the annoyance you had suffered from persons who are fond of raising metaphysical mists around the ordinary topics of conversation, who impede the easy movements of common sense by throwing logical obstacles in its way, and who indulge their ill-dissembled vanity, or too well-dissembled spleen, by expatiating upon specious but frivolous distinctions, which confound the unlearned, and mislead the unwary. "The talents of Mr. Fox (say these critics) are not only overrated, but misunderstood. He never struck out any new lights, but gave us now and then a more distinct perception of old ones. He thought only what many other men have often thought before him, but he was expert enough in saying it better than it usually is said." Be it so. In politics, as in the general science

of ethics, it were absurd at this time of day to look for the discovery of principles in the strict and philosophical sense of the word. Combination, Arrangement, Improvements in the choice of terms, and above all, promptitude, firmness and integrity in the application of truths long known to ever-varying exigencies in the interests of society, and to infinitely diversified contingencies in human life—these are almost the only objects to which the ingenuity of man can be usefully directed in his speculative researches, or his practical pursuits. Here indeed a wide field opens itself for numerous and important differences between different writers, different statesmen, different communities, and different ages. Mr. Fox was not weak enough to pretend to abstract discoveries. He was wise enough to know that in the opinion of Cicero* and other great writers, and in the practice of himself and other great speakers, the most powerful effects are wrought in popular assemblies by the adaptation of matter, and if possible, even of language, to the common judgments of men, founded, as they always are, upon the common or uncommon occurrences of the world. He aspired only to the praise of understanding clearly, and directing honestly, those political rules which good sense had suggested to the

* Vid. Cicero de Oratore, lib. i. parag. 4.

minds of our fathers, and which in reality, had been perceived, disseminated and approved even "in the old time before them." Happy were it for mankind, if his knowledge, so acquired and so employed, had never been thwarted by sophistry, never overborne by declamation, nor finally baffled by contrary notions, which eventually have contributed very little to the honour of our government, or the safety of our country. I have long seen through the specious disguise which at first was thrown over those notions, and I now feel very unpleasant forebodings of their ultimate tendency. But whatsoever errors they might involve, and whatsoever mischiefs they may have produced, I do not forget that they were once adopted by some well-meaning and well-informed men, whose opinions I shall ever disdain to vilify by comparison with those swarms of new and pestilential theories which lately darkened the face of the continent, and compelled every star in the intellectual firmament to "withdraw its shining."

The masculine understanding of Mr. Fox led him to explore, and to discriminate most carefully, the various sources of those evils, which by ordinary politicians are huddled together into one common lump, and which are ascribed to a few prominent causes, when they in truth are the results of many other causes, less

observed indeed, but not less real, nor, in their aggregate, less efficacious.

He was aware that in the progress of knowledge, men are led, not merely by vague and wanton curiosity, but by the connexion of the subject with their own personal happiness, to inquire into the forms and effects of the government under which they live—that by confused and painful perceptions of wrongs, they are pushed on to frame distinct and indistinct notions of rights—that even in this state of things, ancient prejudices, wisely managed by their rulers, will check the encroachments, or correct the excesses of errors which have not yet taken root, and that partial, but voluntary, and therefore gracious concessions, may be employed as preservatives against the total surrender of authority, to be extorted by undistinguishing and unrelenting violence—that if from indolence or obstinacy, popular discontents are suffered to reach their full height, claims are piled upon claims, reasonable compliances serve only to facilitate such as are unreasonable, respect is not recovered by submission, gratitude is not excited by consent, anger is wrought up to fury by refusal, and the oppressed feeling their strength, cast away all regard to the original merits of their cause, and pant for victory, not safety, for vengeance, not justice, in a successful strug-

gle with their oppressors—that in the agitation of those discordant elements which more or less pervade every society, the usual operations of their attractive and repulsive forces may be so disordered, as ultimately to defeat all endeavours to regulate, and even to calculate them, and that rushing together in direct contact, they lay waste all the surrounding scenes with horrible explosion—that without the existence of actual, and at last intolerable grievances, no important revolution was ever yet accomplished by a people among themselves—that the deliberate and long continued neglect of applying proper remedies to those grievances, creates occasions, of which bad men most eagerly avail themselves, to disseminate very bad principles—that theories which thwart the more obvious and uncorrupted conceptions of mankind in politics, morality, and religion, meet with less resistance in consequence of the indignities previously offered to their common sense in common life, under ill-constituted, or ill-administered systems of power—that in addition to the impatience arising from evils experienced, investigated, complained of, and unredressed, there is sometimes a feverish affection of the mind, when novelty acts with redoubled vigour, and imparts credibility and agreeableness to those representations, which in seasons of calmer and sounder thinking, we should reject as improbable and fallacious—that

restraints, whether religious or civil, real or imaginary, then crowd upon the memory, and supply fuel to that flame of the passions, which having been long smothered, is beginning to kindle—that the justifications which formerly soothed or awed the injured party into acquiescence, are sifted rigorously, and unless approved, are sure to be followed by a train of numberless and shapeless spectres, ever ready to start up at the beck of suspicion—that rank and property rarely cease to be safe, till their possessors have ceased to be respectable—that the envy of the lower classes, is kept in check by an habitual sense of dependence, and by a sullen and dastardly consciousness of imbecility, from which they are roused only by the goads of multiplied injury—that the unbending stiffness, and undissembled haughtiness of the higher ranks, engender resentments which, aided by unexpected circumstances, overcome the fears and the supineness of their inferiors—that pride, repeatedly wounded by insult, precipitates civilized man into all the enormities which the uncivilized commit from the impulses of blind and sudden rage—that grosser acts of oppression, for which their authors often disclaim to apologize, and which in times of barbarous ignorance terrified the helpless into abject submission, are in other junctures of public affairs only the proximate and ostensible pretexts for open and extensive revolt

—that the more powerful causes lie in more remote quarters, where honest and enlightened statesmen will ever be upon the watch to discover and to counteract them—that they are to be found in those evils which can be mitigated to-day or increased to-morrow by the arbitrary will of rulers ; which, if they are disguised or explained away by one set of men, can be brought into view, and exaggerated by another ; which annoy by their frequency and their inveteracy, rather than by the immediate pressure of detached instances ; which at once alarm and inflame, whether the imagination gathers them into heaps, or parcels them out into particulars ; which assume every possible appearance of bulk and number, that the afflicted, or terrified, or exasperated mind of man can conceive ; which being at variance with the recent, but confident judgments they have formed upon their own interests, become more and more offensive, from angry remembrance of the past, and gloomy anticipations of the future ; which scarcely admitting any specific description, and mingling with the general mass of hopes and fears, of new prepossessions daily thriving, and old ones decaying hourly, cannot be done away by mere palliatives, but which at first, almost imperceptibly, alienate the sentiments of men from their wonted allegiance, and gradually prepare them, while they are unconscious of their perilous situation, for

becoming the instruments of hasty, tumultuous, and destructive changes.

Such, I conceive, to be the point of view in which Mr. Fox contemplated the late disastrous occurrences in France, as fresh events supplied him with fresh materials for knowledge; and in this manner did he account for many of those mischiefs, which the authors and propagators of paradoxes hardly believed even by themselves, had secretly planned, and which, emboldened by opportunity, they perpetrated with final and fatal success.

But, whatsoever might be the doom of France, he always bore in mind, that in England there long has existed, and now does exist, a constitution, which if it were not so often assumed, as a topic of boasting, but contemplated much oftener as a rule of conduct, by statesmen, would leave us every thing to hope from the best feelings of mankind, and very little to dread from the worst.

They who disagree upon the probable merit of measures that were not tried, may find some common test for deciding upon the import of words which were uttered publicly and frequently. I hold, then, that on reading the speeches of Mr. Fox, no judicious and dispassionate man will now profess to find in them the smallest vestige of that tricking and braggart philosophy, which set at nought the authority

of all laws and all customs, impudently gave the lie to history and experience, and polluted the sacred names of reason and liberty, by affixing them to the most frantic extravagancies, and the most atrocious crimes.

Those speeches, if we had been inclined to distinguish between the flashes of eloquence and the light of reasoning, might have guided our feet in the paths of safety. But that philosophy, as I just now observed to you, put out every luminary which had been wont to cheer and direct the eye of the undistempered mind. It glared for a season, like a portentous meteor, and then vanished from our view, sinking into a deep and huge abyss, from which it can emerge no more. The intestine war of those elements, which in the usual and regular course of moral causes give health and life to society, is not yet composed. At this moment coruscations of strange and dire aspect, are shooting athwart the vast void, and perhaps will be succeeded by a "darkness that may be felt." Yet, "as the violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province is regarded by him that is higher than the highest, I marvel not at the matter," and resist the gloomy suggestions of despondency. Long and unquiet may be the night of sorrow, and over every nation intoxicated by prosperity, enervated by corruption, or hoodwinked in voluntary thralldom, it may be very long, and very

unquiet. But "joy cometh in the morning," and my prayer is, that you may live to hail the returning dawn, when the sun of peace is about to "rise with healing in its wings," to "destroy the face of the covering cast over all "people," and to spread around them the pure and refreshing irradiations of justice and truth.

The subjects discussed in some of the foregoing paragraphs, painfully bring to my recollection other matters, which as they immediately concern the memory of Mr. Fox, must not be passed over in silence. In a very elaborate and masterly sketch of Mr. Fox's character, which lately appeared in the newspapers, and which has excited a considerable degree of attention, we are informed, that in the estimation of Mr. Burke, "Mr. Fox to be sure, was a man "born to be loved," and that "by slow degrees he became the most brilliant and accomplished debater Mr. Burke had ever seen."

If Mr. Burke spoke of Mr. Fox as "a man "born to be loved," he spoke the truth, but he at the same time passed a sentence of condemnation upon himself, for the severe invectives he had uttered against one, who must have been destitute of every property which entitles him to our love, if he really had been, as Mr. Burke in effect declared him to be, the shameless, and remorseless advocate of the worst agents in the worst cause, of libertines, plunderers, murderers, and

the enemies of God and man—against one, whom he had endeavoured to convict of a “high treasonable misdemeanour,” in a pamphlet said to have been enlarged and shortened, corrected and re-corrected, during a long and agonizing struggle between rage without fortitude, and self-reproof without self-command, where many changes reported to have been made in the matter, and the style, indicated no change in the vindictive purpose of the writer—against one, whose courteous and affectionate proposal for an interview, he is said to have rejected on the approach of those awful moments, when the interrupted or forfeited endearments of friendship, are regretted most painfully, when the wonted causes of enmity and competition drop their hold upon hope and fear, and when the good and the bad are alike anxious to forgive, and be forgiven, before “they go hence, and are “no more seen.”

In the preceding paragraph I have adverted to “a Letter from the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Minority in Parliament; containing fifty-four articles of impeachment, against the Right. Hon. C. J. Fox, from the original copy in the possession of the noble Duke.”

This terrific title, I believe, proceeded from the editor; but the book itself contains such

evidence as left no doubt about the author. The effect *produced* by this book in separating Mr. Fox entirely from Mr. Burke, and the effects *intended* by it to blacken Mr. Fox with indelible disgrace, in the mind of the king, the parliament, and the country, never can be forgotten by you, or by myself. It appeared in 1796—it refers to events which had occurred some years before—it has every internal mark of deliberation. The writer, in page 6, “that he may avoid the imputation of throwing out even privately, any loose, random imputations, against the public conduct of a gentleman, for whom he once entertained a very warm affection, and whose abilities he then regarded with the utmost admiration, professes to put down distinctly and articulately, some of the objections which he felt to his late doctrines and proceedings.” Again, in page 81, he speaks of “a full, serious, and he thinks, dispassionate consideration of the whole of what Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan had acted, said and written in the sessions of 1792, 1793.” The interval between the charge and the crimes compels us then to look upon Mr. Burke as delivering his real sentiments—I will, therefore, produce several of them to justify my opinion that they tend to do away every favourable impression which may be made by the two observations

that have lately appeared in the sketch of Mr. Fox's character. In page 7 Mr. Burke tells us, that " Mr. Fox, without the knowledge or participation of any one member of parliament, with whom he was bound by every party principle, in matters of delicacy and importance, confidentially to communicate, had thought proper to send Mr. Adair as his representative and with his cypher, to St. Petersburg, there to frustrate the objects for which the minister for the crown was authorized to treat."

I am not enough acquainted with the circumstances of this transaction, either to justify, or to condemn the whole of it " *Scelus* illud vocat Tubero,*" and Tubero, as we once heard from many quarters, is " an honourable man." But the conduct of the accuser leads me to suspect that the accusation is at once vague and exaggerated.

Much as may be said about the awful secrets of cabinets, and the profound contrivances of statesmen, men of reading and observation will sometimes be tempted to apply to them, what a great politician once told us of certain *Legum Carmina*. *Dum erant occulta, necessario ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur; postea vero pervulgata atque in manibus jactata et excussa†, inanis-*

* Vid. *Orat. pro Ligario*. † Vid. Cicero's Speech for *Muræna*, paragr. 6.

sima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima. Folly will not be hastily imputed to Mr Fox—But his well-wishers will be anxious to enquire, what are the grounds upon which Mr. Burke ventured to charge him with the worst kind of fraud. I remember that about the time when Mr. Adair went to Russia, the storm of war which had been gathering, passed over—And I farther remember, that this event did not produce any loud complaints that the country had incurred any loss of its honour, or its security. Mr. Burke, indeed, tells us in 1796, that Mr. Adair “ had frustrated the “ king’s minister in some of the objects of his “ negociation.” But he does not tell us that the objects themselves were very salutary, or very important. The means of frustrating them he pronounces unconstitutional and illegal—But how does he know it? Or at least, how has he proved it, if he knew it? His tenderness to Mr. Fox, was not always such as to make him very thrifty in imparting this kind of knowledge to other men. If he could have proved it, the anxiety which he professed to feel for his king and country, and the indignation which he avowed against their foes, whether foreign or domestic, were such, that he would have been justified to himself and to the world, in producing the whole store of his proofs. In an exuberance of zeal similar to that he upon a well-

known occasion had formerly manifested for impeachment,

“ Did he appeal our friend on secret malice,

“ Or, worthily, as a good subject should,

“ On some known ground of treachery in him?”

If, to adopt the language of Mr. Burke in another passage, “ the intentions of Mr. Adair were pure,” was Mr. Adair under an error so great as to imagine, that his end being the attainment of peace, would consecrate unconstitutional, and even unlawful means? Did Mr. Fox after the return of Mr. Adair communicate to his friends the measure he is said to have taken without their knowledge? Did he leave them satisfied or dissatisfied with the reasons he assigned for taking it? Did they view his conduct in the same strong light in which Mr. Burke holds it up to public reprobation? Did Mr. Adair give to the Russian court any false or any dangerous information, about the resources of the government, or the temper of the people? Had he discovered the secret designs of the English cabinet, and after discovering, did he betray more of them than a man quite unconnected with the members of administration, and honestly adverse to their measures, had a moral, or even a legal right to reveal? Did he encourage the court of Petersburg to urge new and unjust demands, or furnish them with new and mischievous reasons,

to enforce those upon which they had previously insisted?—Did he only, as a private individual, point out in conversation to the ministers of Russia, such views of the subject in dispute as made peace more desirable to them than war? Did he by mere suggestions turn their attention towards conciliatory and reasonable terms, which the pride or the anger of the contending parties had caused them to overlook, and which if proposed by one of them were likely to be adopted by the other, after temperate and immediate discussions between the courts of St. Petersburg and St. James's?—Did he presume to answer for the parliamentary support of that very party, with whom Mr. Fox had studiously avoided all direct and even indirect communication upon the subject? Or, did he merely communicate the sentiments and wishes of himself, and a few other individuals? Was he contented with mentioning Mr. Fox's name, and producing his cypher for something which the accuser of Mr. Fox has not explained by any circumstantial detail whatsoever, nor by any other specific property, than that in Mr. Burke's opinion, the deed was almost treason, nor by any other visible effect, than that it frustrated some unknown objects, which the king's ambassador was endeavouring to attain?

The fact, of whatever kind it may have been, is said to have come within the knowledge of administration. But foul as may have

been the channel through which intelligence was conveyed to them, could that circumstance diminish the illegality of the transaction? Or did the intelligence itself throw such doubts upon the whole that ministers with all the advantages of official situation, and all the suggestions of crown lawyers, were at a loss to find any one political expedient, for turning it to any one political account? ἀπλὲν τὸ δίκαιον, ῥᾶδιον τὸ ἀληθές-βραχὺς ὁ ἐλέγχος*. If for prudential, or any other reasons, they did not chuse to make the offenders amenable to law, would they have been tardy to assist in lowering the parliamentary, and the popular importance of a man, who had not only disappointed them in Russia, but, with a charge of treason hanging over his head, had ventured to oppose them about the affairs of France? If their own proceedings had been perfectly right, was it not their interest, as well as their duty, somehow or other to convince the public, that Mr. Fox's conduct was entirely and unpardonably wrong? Was their delicacy to Mr. Fox so very great, or their confidence in Mr. Burke so very little, that they would have refused to furnish the latter with information, when he was labouring in their cause, and when the odium of employing it, if odium was to be expected rather than praise, would have fallen upon Mr.

* Vid. Orat. Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 162. Reiske edit.

Burke, not upon themselves? In point of fact, then, ministers, who were acquainted with the whole truth, and who possessed the very amplest powers of proclaiming it with authority, and supporting it by evidence, attempted nothing decisive for the purpose of punishment, and even alledged nothing distinct for the purpose of crimination. But what are we to think of Mr. Burke, who knew probably much less than ministers knew, and yet has said much more than persons better informed upon the subject, and more interested in it, were pleased to say?

The accusation is produced by Mr. Burke in 1796. The crime must have been committed several years before—when, I ask, and how, did Mr. Burke discover that crime? Why did he keep back so important a discovery upon our negociations with Russia, till Mr. Fox had displeased him by his politics on the affairs of France? Did Mr. Burke, or did he not, continue to act in parliament with Mr. Fox after the discovery had been made? Would he have been justified in keeping up any party connexion with a man whom he had strong reason only to suspect of such guilt, as is laid to his charge in the following words—“ This proceeding of Mr. Fox, “ says he, does not (as I conceive) amount to “ absolute high treason. Russia, though on bad “ terms, not having been then declaredly at war

“ with this kingdom. But such a proceeding
 “ is, in law, not very remote from that offence,
 “ and is undoubtedly a most unconstitutional
 “ act, and an high treasonable misdemeanor.”

It will be long, before, upon the mere strength of Mr. Burke's representation, I shall suffer myself to consider Mr. Adair as a spy, or Mr. Fox as a traitor. But such imputations were well calculated to prepare the minds of Mr. Burke's readers for believing other charges, which are afterwards brought forward.

In page 30 he accuses Mr. Fox of moving resolutions “ tending to confirm the horrible
 “ tyranny and robbery of the French, and hav-
 “ ing for their drift the sacrifice of our own do-
 “ mestic dignity and safety, and the indepen-
 “ dancy of Europe, to the support of the strange
 “ mixture of anarchy and tyranny prevailing in
 “ France, and called by Mr. Fox and his party,
 “ a government.”

In page 52, he says, that “ under a specious
 “ appearance, not unfrequently put on by men
 “ of unscrupulous ambition, that of tenderness
 “ and compassion to the poor, Mr. Fox did his
 “ best to appeal to the meanest and most igno-
 “ rant of the people, on the merits of the war.”

In page 59, he says, that “ it would be
 “ shameful for any man above the vulgar, to
 “ shew so blind a partiality even to his own
 “ country, as Mr. Fox appeared on all occasions

“ in the system of that year, to have shewn to
 “ France, and that if he had been minister, and
 “ proceeded on the principles laid down by him-
 “ self, in Mr. Burke’s belief there is little doubt
 “ that he would have been considered as the
 “ most criminal statesman that ever lived in this
 “ country.”

In page 61 Mr. Fox is likened to Petion and
 Brissot, because he “ studiously confined his
 “ horror and reprobation to the massacres of the
 “ second of September, but passed over those of
 “ the tenth of August; and like the Brissotine
 “ faction condemned, not the deposition, or the
 “ proposed exile, or the proposed perpetual im-
 “ prisonment, but only the murder of the king.”

I disdain to enter into any formal refuta-
 tion of these charges. But I am at a loss to
 conceive how any man who, according to Mr.
 Burke’s statement, countenanced the horrible
 tyranny and robbery of the French—who was
 more partial to a foreign country, than any en-
 lightened man ought to be to his own—who
 acted under the specious pretences put on by
 men of *unscrupulous* ambition—who was indif-
 ferent to the massacre of the tenth of August,
 and the barbarous indignities offered to the
 French monarch before his murder, could, in
 Mr. Burke’s estimation, “ be a man born to be
 “ loved.” Had so many years elapsed before Mr.

Burke could discover that he had been the partisan and the friend of a Catiline? For of Catiline we read “*Quis clarioribus viris quodam tempore jucundior? quis civis meliorum partium aliquando? quis tetrior hostis huic civitati? **”

In page 59 Mr. Burke “thinks it possible that Mr. Fox would act and think quite in a different way, if he were in office. To be sure (says he) some persons might try to excuse Mr. Fox, by pleading in his favour a total indifference to principle, but this (says Mr. Burke) I will not suppose: one may think better of Mr. Fox, and that from better, or from worse motives, he might change his mind on acquiring the favour of the crown,” This concession is followed by pretty broad hints, that such a change was to be expected very faintly, and by a tragical detail of the dreadful consequences that must flow from the absence of it.

In page 78 Mr. Burke allows, “that the intentions of Mr. Fox and his associates may be pure, though they were in great error.”

Under the impression, however, that their perseverance in error was not grossly improbable, in page 83 Mr. Burke says, that “the declared opinions, and uniform line of conduct con-

* Cic. Orat. pro M. Coelio, par. 3.

“formable to those opinions, pursued by Mr.
 “Fox, must become a matter of serious alarm
 “if he should obtain a power at court, or in par-
 “liament, or in the nation at large, because he
 “must be the most active and efficient member
 “of any administration, and Mr. Burke adds
 “that a man or set of men, guided by such not
 “dubious, but delivered and avowed systems,
 “principles, and maxims of politics, as to need
 “a watch and check on them in the exercise of
 “the highest power, ought in Mr. Burke’s opin-
 “ion, to make every man who is not of the
 “same principles, a little cautious how he helps
 “a man or set of men to climb up to the highest
 “authority.”

In page 89 he says, that if “Mr. Fox be
 “wedded, they who have been little satisfied
 “with the proceedings of Mr. Pitt in the be-
 “ginning of his administration, must be sensible
 “that Mr. Fox’s opinions and principles must
 “be taken as his portion. That in Mr. Fox’s
 “train must also be taken, the whole body of
 “gentlemen, who are pledged to him, and to
 “each other, and to their common politics and
 “principles. That Mr. Burke believes, that no
 “king of Great Britain will ever adopt for his
 “confidential servants, that body of gentlemen
 “holding that body of principles.

Mr. Burke goes on to say, that “if the pre-
 “sent king, or his successor, should think fit to

“ take that step, he apprehends a general discontent of those who wish that this nation and Europe should continue in their present state, would ensue—A discontent, which combined with the principles and progress of the new men in power, would shake this kingdom to its foundations.”

Are these expressions qualified by occasional suppositions, that Mr. Fox would in all probability change his opinions upon coming into office? Are they not rather accompanied by very intelligible intimations, that we had little reason to look for such a change? Do they show merely the propriety, and comparative expediency of excluding Mr. Fox from power in the whole reign of our present sovereign, and the whole reign of his successor? Do they not imply, that Mr. Fox was utterly unworthy of *any* favour from his sovereign, any support from the aristocracy, or any confidence from the people? That if any sovereign should ever vouchsafe to employ Mr. Fox, men who wish things to continue as they are, would be provoked to take up arms against the king and his servants? That Mr. Fox was likely to pursue such measures as would shake this kingdom to its foundations?

Let me not be told, that such representations were mere effusions of anger, or mere flourishes of rhetoric—No: they were not spoken—But they were written—they issued from the press,

and to the press they were sent, after much deliberation, and in a very offensive form, though, while they were in the press, they might undergo many corrections. Did the editor forge the whole? Did he interpolate any part? Did he suppress any thing kind? Did he aggravate any thing severe? In the book itself, all excuses of precipitation are excluded, by the words of the author himself. In page 88 he ushers in his opinion of the consequences that were to flow from the admission of Mr. Fox to power, by telling us, that “on a cool and dispassionate view of affairs in this time and country, Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox, must be minister, and that to his sorrow they are irreconcilable.” The succeeding parts of this paragraph, seem to be written in the same cool and dispassionate view. The conclusion tells us, explicitly and positively, that, in “Mr. Burke’s belief, no political conjecture can be more certain than this, that if the king or his successor should think fit to employ Mr. Fox and his partizans, such discontent among the well-wishers to the present state of this nation, and of Europe would ensue, as, combined with the principles and progress of the new men in power, would shake this kingdom to its foundations.”

I do not ask what portion of the public approved of Mr. Burke’s letter, or how many persons may now remember it. But thus much I

know—it was once read eagerly—it will be read hereafter—and with indifference no man of any party can read it. But that Mr. Burke wrote it, that he meant to publish it, that he suffered it to be published, that he himself republished it, that he retracted it not, that he softened it not, were sufficient reasons for Mr. Fox to separate himself entirely from Mr. Burke. They are sufficient reasons with me, too, for expressing, as I have done to you, my opinions upon the comparative merits of Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, and they are sufficient, also, to justify me in setting very little value upon Mr. Burke's concession, that Mr. Fox was “a man born to be loved, and that he became by slow degrees, the most brilliant and accomplished debater Mr. Burke had ever seen.”

You and I, dear Sir, should not retain much love for the constitutional good-nature, or the private virtues of any man, if we were convinced that his ambition was *unscrupulous*, that he felt no horror at the massacre of the tenth of August, that he had been almost a traitor, and that upon coming into office, he would pursue such measures as must terminate in rebellion and revolution.

To Mr. Burke's political conjecture, so approaching to certainty as he describes it, we may oppose some plain facts.

Mr. Fox neither in parliament, nor out of it,

retracted any of the principles which he had really entertained and avowed upon the politics of France; and from *opinions* that were distinct from principles little danger could be apprehended.

Now Mr. Pitt within these four or five years entered into something like a negotiation for coalescing with Mr. Fox; and whatsoever compromise they might have made from motives of prudence, to avoid all discussions upon the causes of the late war, neither of them was supposed to surrender his principles; nor can it be seriously believed by any man, that Mr. Pitt viewed Mr. Fox's political judgments in the same odious light in which Mr. Burke represents them, or that Mr. Fox had bargained for not acting upon them so far as he thought them right, or that Mr. Pitt, if he thought them incorrigibly and dangerously wrong, would have been weak enough to be a party in such a bargain—Mr. Tierney, “whose penmanship,” as we are told by Mr. Burke, page 67, “had furnished a complete digest of libellous matter from the club “called the friends of the people, which is pronounced the most audacious, and the most insidious of all the performances of that kind “which had appeared before,” has not, in any political book, or in any parliamentary speech, retracted his opinions; and yet this respectable man obtained a very high place, and a

very lucrative pension, under Lord Sidmouth, a minister who has been supposed, in a very eminent degree, to possess the confidence of his sovereign.

Mr. Adair, a self-appointed ambassador to Petersburg, and the reputed accomplice of Mr. Fox in "a high treasonable misdemeanor," was sent by one ministry as envoy to Vienna, and we may suppose that he has expiated his offences, or at least that like a sincere penitent, he has not repeated them, because he continues in that important character, with the approbation of his sovereign, and with the acquiescence, it should seem, of another ministry, whose general system of politics he would not support.

I have long had the happiness and the honour to call Mr. Adair my friend, and well do I remember the pangs which he suffered and the tears which he shed, when persons whom he had been accustomed to love and respect were torn asunder, at the commencement of the late war. I know Mr. Adair's literary attainments, his various information, his constitutional principles, his exquisite and amiable sensibility, his sincerity in private friendship, and his firmness in political attachment; and to his fiercest accusers I should say with confidence,

"However Heaven or fortune may cast his lot,
 "There lives in him, true to king George's throne,
 "A loyal, just, and upright gentleman*."

* Richard II.

This declaration is extorted from me by the invidious introduction of Mr. Adair's name in the House of Lords, on the part of a peer, who "called upon a noble relation of the person who sent him, to explain some rumours respecting the supposed secret mission of Mr. Adair upon a former occasion to St. Petersburg." Happy I was to observe that the good sense of the house immediately acquiesced in the declaration of Lord Holland, "that the insinuations upon the conduct of Mr. Fox had been so repeatedly proved to be absurd, that nothing but the perverse spirit which had been manifested that night could have again brought it up." I cannot however forget, dear Sir, that Mr. Burke was the first person to bring forward the odious charge against Mr. Fox and Mr. Adair, formally and publicly, that it is recorded in his writings which are likely to be read by many distant generations, that a great officer of the crown has been pleased to introduce it gravely in parliament, and that a malignant spirit of party may hereafter induce other accusers to employ it to the discredit of both our friends.

Four most distinguished loyalists, most experienced statesmen, and most enlightened and honourable gentlemen, Mr. Windham, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Grenville, have, within this two years, formed a part of the

same administration not only with Mr. Fox himself, but with Mr. Fox's jacobinical confederate, (as in effect Mr. Burke describes him) Lord Howick, and than Lord Howick, a better subject, a sounder patriot, and an honest man, never set foot in the English parliament, or the English court.

The Duke of Portland, I grant, did not enter into any conspiracy with the old or the new associates of Mr. Fox, for giving effect to his Jacobinical principles, and accomplishing Mr. Burke's prediction, by the ruin of his country. I leave other men to praise the magnanimity and the patience displayed by his Grace, in renouncing for a season the profits of office, and in waiting for the opportunities, which perhaps in his opinion, were not very unlikely to occur, for employing his own talents and loyalty in the service of a new and more *permanent* administration. Virtue in the noble Duke certainly has not been left to be its own reward.

If we ought to believe the reproaches so vehemently urged and so widely disseminated, no predilection for political theories can even extenuate the rashness of Mr. Fox. If we ought to disbelieve them, no difference in political opinion can justify the acrimony of Mr. Burke. From him who professed to write gravely upon subjects so grave as the interests of society, the principles of morality, and the sanctions of religion, we have a right to expect deliberation, at

least, if not candour, before he brandishes the weapons of accusation ; and even to the freedom which a sense of our common imperfections induces us to pardon in public debate, some boundaries are prescribed by the common sympathies and usages of civilized man.

After the outrages to which I have adverted, Mr. Fox himself stood in little need of any concession or any praise from Mr. Burke ; and the friends of Mr. Fox, as will presently appear, had little cause to be pleased with a second instance of commendation for which Mr. Burke has lately been made responsible, and in the republication of which a sort of claim appears to have been set up for the credit not only of his taste, but of his justice, and perhaps, his placability.

When Mr. Burke mentioned Mr. Fox as one “ who by slow degrees had become the most brilliant and accomplished debater he had ever seen,” he spoke not, and he must have been conscious of not speaking, the whole truth. A man so conversant as the philosophical writer upon the Sublime and Beautiful has shewn himself, in exploring the power of words to convey ideas under all their possible modifications of precision and laxity, amplification and compression, meridian brightness and twilight dimness, must have known, that the epithets “ most brilliant and accomplished,” did not make the term “ debater,” co-extensive with the aggregate

of Mr. Fox's merit as a public speaker. He must have known, that a Dunning, a Thurlow, and a North, might with consummate propriety have been described, as accomplished and most powerful debaters. He must have known, that he had himself seen in Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Pitt, debaters more *brilliant*, if not more accomplished, than Mr. Fox was, according to the obvious and established signification of the words—He must have known, that in the conceptions of such enlightened and experienced observers as himself, brilliancy was not the marked excellency of Mr. Fox's speaking—He must have known, that by the slightest touch of his wand, the debater, in the twinkling of an eye, might have been transformed into an orator—He must have known, that in the angry conflicts of party, there were persons who would gladly seize upon *any* expressions which seemed to depress the merits of Mr. Fox below their proper standard. He must have known, that long observation, and advanced age, would give additional sanction to any judgments which he might himself pass upon his former associate, when ordinary men were likely to be surprised and charmed, even at the smallest pittance of praise bestowed by him, after his unhappy difference with Mr. Fox. But when political hatred had deepened the gloom, which intellectual competition often spreads over the mind of man—when the splen-

dour of Mr. Fox's name had begun to emerge from the obscurity in which it had been industriously and mischievously enveloped—when the sun of Mr. Burke's glory, had, in some measure, ceased to be gazed at with admiration and fondness, for the radiance and warmth which it had formerly diffused—when it was descending with unexpected rapidity down the horizon, and was likely soon to set in the darkness of the grave—at such a season, was that wonderful man, Mr. Burke, more disposed to degrade Mr. Fox by what he suppressed, than to honour him by what he acknowledged. Yes, dear Sir, he was actuated by the same narrow and illiberal jealousy which had induced some anonymous, but able writer in the annual register, to notice very slightly and very coolly, a most impressive speech delivered by Mr. Sheridan on the trial of Mr. Hastings. He descended to the low and inglorious artifice of “damning by faint praise,” on a subject, where perfect fear, mingled with imperfect shame, restrained him from venturing upon open assault.—He seems to have looked upon commendation largely given to Mr. Fox, as a reward indirectly filched from his own pretensions.—He scantily, and perhaps reluctantly, bore testimony to the intellectual powers of a senator, who had never been tardy or insidious in applauding other speakers, and who had ascribed much of his own political knowledge, and

many of his own oratorical excellencies, to the aid of Mr. Burke's instructions, and the influence of his example.

I have often admired Mr. Burke when he "fulminated over Greece" against Jacobins and scorners, and knowing him not to "be in sport," I have sometimes been disposed to forgive his want of caution, when he "scattered firebrands" among the innocent, as well as among the guilty—But why did Atticus give way to literary jealousy, against one whom he knew to be completely exempt from it? Mr. Burke had himself been the hearer and the ally of Mr. Fox in many debates upon many subjects, and whether right or wrong upon the general merits of the question, he seldom failed to give some proofs of a most active and richly-stored understanding—Mr. Burke was himself an orator of the highest order, and would he have been content to be called "a most brilliant and accomplished debater?" Would he have discerned much candour or much sagacity in any critic who should have attempted to justify the application of the term, by saying that promptness in reply, dexterity in evasion, a keen perception of the strong and of the vulnerable parts in the speech of an opponent, quickness in anticipating objections, and sturdiness in repelling them, were the characteristics of a great debater, and that practice would ultimately bring them within

his reach? No. The experience of Mr. Burke, as an orator, must have told him that Mr. Fox was more than a great debater, and the common sense of other men will tell them, that to become even a debater of such a kind, and in such a degree, something more, and something better was requisite than long use. We shall find it in the *Divite vena ingenii* to which use was superadded.

In the opinion of Mr. Burke, the fame of Mr. Fox, as a brilliant and accomplished debater, *Crevit occulto velut arbor ævo**. But if slowness be measured by comparison with the progress of many other men, the reputation of Mr. Fox as a great speaker, struck its root deeply, spread its branches widely, and bore fruit abundantly, by degrees that were *not* slow. The state of public affairs, the dispute with America, the comprehensive and important questions to which that dispute gave rise, and in the discussion of which Mr. Fox, without very frequent, or very marked inferiority to Mr. Burke, co-operated with him, assisted probably, and accelerated the growth of Mr. Fox's powers, not merely as a debater, but as an orator. Whatsoever may be my opinion upon the comparative excellencies of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox as great speakers, the progress of Mr. Pitt as a debater, was, I think, equally rapid, and perhaps it was

* Horace, lib. i. Carmen 12.

even more so, in consequence of the arduous part he had to sustain, against a phalanx of such assailants as Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Lord North, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke. But no man, however prejudiced, who attended to Mr. Fox's speeches, from his first appearance in parliament, to the conclusion of the American war, discerned in them, "*Illud ingeniorum velut praecox genus, quod non temere unquam pervenit ad frugem.*" We may say, indeed, without any gross partiality, "*neque stabat profectus, neque admiratio decrescebat*.*"

I am not disposed to dispute about the import of mere words, unless their ambiguity seem to be studied for some purpose of which I do not approve; and that Mr. Burke used such words about Mr. Fox, "in a work written after "their unhappy difference," is the very circumstance which induces me to point out such ambiguity, and to defeat such purpose.

If those words had been used in conversation only, they might have been accompanied by other terms of praise, which might have protected them from misapprehension—But they were written, it seems, they were published, and therefore they have all the external as well as internal evidences of deliberation. By the author of the sketch, they were selected for republication, and therefore, he, too, must be consi-

* Quintilian, lib. i. cap. 3.

dered as acting deliberately—I know not the work in which they are to be found. But I give Mr. Burke's panegyrist the credit of fidelity in his quotation, and as he has not availed himself of any other words, to correct the bad effects of those which he has brought forward, I suppose that he met with none.

When Mr. Burke spoke of "slow degrees," he evidently meant, that as Mr. Fox spoke oftener, he spoke better. Thus much will be granted without prejudice to Mr. Fox's abilities, because more can be said, and it might also have been granted without prejudice to Mr. Burke's candour, *if he* had been disposed to say more. In eloquence, doubtless, as in politics, in literature, in the sciences, and all other intellectual attainments, the advantages of exercise are considerable, and Mr. Fox, in common with other speakers, had a considerable share in those advantages. He must have acquired greater skill in defence, greater confidence in attack, quicker views of general and particular questions, greater copiousness and greater precision of language, and a more ready adaptation of his matter to the temper of his audience, the characters of his opponents, and the peculiar exigencies of times and seasons. But for the various and splendid powers which Mr. Fox displayed upon so many subjects, and against so many antagonists, and during so many years, he

was not less indebted, surely, to a native strength of understanding, to a liberal education, to extensive reading, to habitual reflection, to familiar intercourse with the learned in all sciences, and the wise in many nations, and let me add, to an ardent and inextinguishable love of liberty, justice, and humanity, which he esteemed the choicest blessings of man, and the noblest gifts of God. In truth, dear Sir, the intellectual and the moral properties of his mind, as I have before remarked to you, acted upon each other. His solicitude for the welfare of his country and of mankind, led him to explore all the causes by which it is impeded or promoted, and his knowledge of those causes in its turn increased that solicitude. When the welfare of thousands and myriads depended upon the guidance of truth, he was upon the alert to chace her, whether she were to be found in her wonted habitations, or her most secret haunts, in the highway of generalities, or the bye-paths of particulars, upon the summits of science, or in the vale of common-life, in the gloomy labyrinths of negociation, or the rugged thickets of debate.

If, then, readiness in the application of general principles to particular occasions—if the fruits of long and laborious research into the usages of parliament, into the spirit of jurisprudence in our own and foreign countries, into the laws of

nations, into the national character and national resources of allies and foes, into the opinions, practices and memorable sayings of the most renowned statesmen in all governments, popular and regal, and all ages, ancient and modern, and into the causes and circumstances of all the great events, by which great empires have been raised or depressed—if copiousness, and even felicity in illustrating—if earnestness in enforcing—if vehemence in refuting—if plainness of language without vulgarity, and grandeur without bombast—if these be the constituents of oratory, Mr. Fox has a most indisputable claim to the name of an orator. Whether indeed the merit of Mr. Fox be measured by his ability to enlighten a senate, or assist in a cabinet, to accommodate speculation to action, or combine utility with truth, we see the same unclouded perspicuity in his statements, the same undisturbed regularity in his reasonings, the same peculiar and varied colours in his diction, and the same correctness, fertility, and originality in his conceptions.—Yes, he was a wonderful speaker, a wonderful statesman, and in perseverance, patience, placability, and probity, a most wonderful man.

We cannot forget the lofty tone of triumph, the dexterous mis-statements, the invidious exaggerations, and pointed sarcasms, to which Mr. Pitt sometimes had recourse in the conflicts of parliament. But in no one instance which

occurs to my memory, did this extraordinary man speak of Mr. Fox as merely an excellent debater. Though a monopolist of power, Mr. Pitt was not a pilferer of fame. In the hearing of all parties, he frequently professed to admire, while he fiercely opposed, his mighty rival, and in the society of his private friends, if I am not much misinformed, he sincerely did justice to those talents which were congenial to his own, to some virtues, which perhaps were not, and to all that assemblage of excellencies, which conciliated the affections of so many adherents, and softened, it may be, the antipathy of so many enemies. To the honour of Mr. Fox, also, be it spoken, that he argumentatively, and sometimes impatiently resisted, the declamations of partizans, and the refinements of critics, when they appeared to him to undervalue the abilities of Mr. Pitt. I have been present at such conversations, and taken, let me confess, an active part in them against our friend.

In the happy application of sound, solemn, saintly morality to political subjects, in variety of allusion, in richness of imagery, in copiousness and magnificence of diction, and in all the higher graces which Invention, itself the highest faculty of the human mind, can bestow upon human compositions, the eloquence of Mr. Burke never has been, nor, I believe, ever will be excelled. At the same time I should not be

conscious of doing him any injustice if I were to say, that he wandered too suddenly and too often from his subject; that he leaped too far beyond the bounds of decorum in his reproaches, and of probability in his descriptions; that he availed himself too seldom of the unexpected, and sometimes unpleasant incidents, which in a popular assembly should induce a speaker desirous of popularity to retreat, or to pause; that he sympathized too little with the prejudices and humours of his audience; that he soared too much and too long above the level of their ordinary conceptions, and therefore, that he was less successful than Mr. Fox is supposed to have been in debate, as the word is generally and properly employed. But this very distinction implies, that in addition to the argumentative talents, which mark and even constitute a powerful debater, other and great qualifications are necessary to make a great speaker; and my complaint is, that Mr. Burke has been penurious of praise to those qualifications, as they really existed in his great contemporary.

The province of a debater, is to convince, rather than to persuade, to prove, than to adorn. But were these the sole, or upon some occasions, even the leading properties, of Mr. Fox's speeches? The office of an orator, like that of the poet described by Horace, is, "*et prodesse, et delectare.*" But do we not find both these

properties in the sentiments and language of Mr. Fox, when great subjects roused him to great exertions—when, having satisfied the judgment, he proceeded to exercise his mastery over the passions—when he unmasked imposture, to make it despised—when he pleaded for misery, to make it pitied—when he asserted the eternal claims of justice—when in the liveliest colours he painted the blessings of liberty and peace, and when he held up the crimes of tyranny to our detestation, or the ravages of war to our compassion and our fears? Atchievements of this kind are beyond the power of a mere debater, and he that remembers the effects wrought upon himself, or witnessed the eager curiosity, and varied emotions of other men, while Mr. Fox was speaking, will readily allow, that such atchievements were not beyond the reach of his mind. Some speakers delight the ear; others captivate the imagination; but to win the heart by simplicity of manner, to warm it by earnestness of appeal, to stir up one strong feeling after another in quick succession, and to stretch none beyond their proper tone—these are excellencies in regard to which Mr. Fox had little to dread from comparison with any orator of any age.

Upon the evidence adduced for facts, and the arguments employed to develop their properties, our reason is nearly at all seasons in a state of equal preparation to form a right esti-

mate. Distance of time, indeed, if it make any difference, is favourable to our decisions, because subsequent events may have arisen, to throw new light upon the origin and consequences of those facts, or because our minds may have been gradually set free from those latent ties, by which the occurrences of the day are entwined, more or less, with our partialities, antipathies, hopes, and fears. In all such operations of the understanding, the speeches which Mr. Fox delivered long ago, may be criticised with great advantage to his character as a debater.

But upon topics which more immediately find their way to our passions, contiguity in time, if I may without pedantry use the language of Mr. Hume, is accompanied by efficacy more direct, indeed, and more intense, but much more transient—While some great, and long-expected event is suspended, or some important interest is at stake, we are impressed instantaneously by the slightest, as well as the weightiest considerations, which a skilful orator may set before us—After those events have gone by, or those interests have ceased to be implicated in the discussion of any political question, our attention languishes, and our indifference generally passes from the question itself, to every object associated with it in the speeches, the writings, or even the actions of men. But

wheresoever this is not the case—where after a lapse of time, after the cessation of all personal concern, and in the absence of immediate sympathy with a speaker or an audience, we feel as it were his ideal presence—where the anticipations of memory furnish gratifications not less enchanting than novelty itself—where the illusions of imagination convert the past into the present—where the affections preserve a kind of elastic force after impulse upon impulse, and vibrate again and again in the same direction, with undiminished vigour, can we require a more decisive proof of genius in the orator, who can at will thus call into action, every strong, and every agreeable emotion? Let the merits of Mr. Fox's ablest orations be tried by this test. For my part, when I look into them by mere chance, I cannot quit the mingled nourishment and luxury of the intellectual repast, till I come to the close of the banquet. Laying before me clearly all the links between cause and effect; opening up to me all the principles by which the most momentous concerns of life are governed; abounding with inartificial, but most impassioned addresses to the best feelings of the soul, and elevated by the proper application of those hallowed maxims, which, if introduced without the rant of fanaticism, or the whine of hypocrisy, cannot fail to remind us that we are moral beings, destined to act, and to be acted upon,

amidst other beings endowed with the same faculties, and subjected to the same responsibility, those speeches both instruct and interest me now, not less than they instructed and interested me upon a first perusal when many external circumstances might be supposed to concur in accelerating and augmenting their effect.

I have conversed with other men, who have acknowledged their experience to be similar to my own. Perhaps they would liken the speeches of Mr. Fox to some fine pieces of music, which upon the first hearing, produce a sort of confused pleasure from their grandeur, or a faint one from their simplicity, and which, after some interval, are, upon a second and a third hearing, more distinctly understood, and more exquisitely relished. But if I were permitted to express the *entire*, and *peculiar* influence of them upon my own mind, I should venture to have recourse to other imagery—I should say, that they carry with them, at once, the freshness of a blossom; and the mellowness of fruit.

Distinguished by other, and it may be, not inferior beauties, some of Mr. Burke's speeches in their nobler parts, affect me nearly in the same manner, and to the same degree. I will not therefore wrong that wonderful man, by calling him an ingenious, or animated, or gorgeous declaimer. No—Mr. Burke was an orator—

Mr. Burke was born to be admired at home and abroad, and by friends and foes. The happiest effusions of Mr. Burke's eloquence, prepared by judicious correction for the press, are not far removed from perfection, and they deserve to be called, in the well-known language of Thucydides:

“Κτήματα ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνίσματα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα
“ἀκέρειν.”

A. κγ. 55.

The mantle of Mr. Burke was of celestial texture, and it may serve to deck out some future claimant not unworthy of inheriting the precious insigne, and trained to the sacred office in the schools of the prophets—But where shall we find the favoured mortal, upon whom a double portion of Mr. Burke's spirit may be expected to descend?

If I had been told, that Mr. Burke had described Mr. Fox as a most accomplished and brilliant debater, in conversation *only*, and had used no other terms of praise, I should have thought of his words as I now think, and for the sake of the speaker, I should not have produced them before the public, without the most urgent and palpable necessity. Yet in writing to you, dear Sir, I should not have disturbed the manes of Mr. Burke, if they had not been invoked to descend from that glorified state*, to which some Platonists supposed that the souls

* Vid. Maxim. Tyr. Dissertation 27, and the Notes.

of illustrious men were exalted immediately after death, and had been employed in performing the part of a tutelary genius to the reputation of Mr. Fox.

But, *Amicus Foxius, veritas etiam magis Amica*, and for the strictures which have fallen from my pen, the responsibility, in the first instance, lies with that person, who depending upon the merits of a good cause, or on his own gigantic strength and magic skill to support a bad one, has challenged the severities of investigation.

It were useless, and perhaps unbecoming, to indulge any conjectures upon the motives which led the writer of the sketch in question, to look for any sanction to his own present opinions of Mr. Fox, in the qualified, or unqualified concurrence of Mr. Burke—Great, indeed, are the talents of both Mr. Burke and his encomiast, and to both should I have listened most attentively and most respectfully, in any honest application of those talents to great subjects. Upon any other occasion, I might have been pleased with that encomiast on his making those acknowledgments, which were once made by Mr. Fox, for the instruction and delight, which in common with every scholar of every party, he may have himself derived from the speeches and the writings of Mr. Burke. Reasons he may have for professing to make a common cause

with that extraordinary man upon the demerits of French politics—But surely upon the merits of English eloquence, there is no visible temptation to seduce him from rigorous and uniform impartiality, even into seeming or momentary compliance with the lurking prejudices of such a favourite as Mr. Burke now appears to be in his estimation.

I condemn not Mr. Burke, nor any other man, who has undergone a *real* “change in the general complexion of his mind*,” or a change “in the opinions” which he professes to hold, and endeavours to disseminate—even a change *so* great as to raise suspicion in common observers, that “he is ashamed of his former exertions for the people.” I shall endeavour to vindicate Mr. Burke from a part of that charge against the reviewer, and I should be very reluctant indeed to alledge a similar charge against other men. The reasons for their change may be very solid—the motives to it may be honourable—the effects of it may be useful at once to the individuals and to the community.

It is unjust to say that inconsistency is, in all cases, the infallible criterion of insincerity—It is unjust to tie down manhood to those tenets which have been ingenuously avowed, but

* Vid. The Monthly Review, to be quoted hereafter in the Notes.

perhaps hastily adopted, in youth—It is unjust to shackle men of genius with any other restraints, than those which are necessary for the observance of decorum, honour, and the strictest fidelity—It is unjust to debar any human beings from the moral or intellectual benefits which may arise from greater accuracy of information, or greater maturity of judgment—It is flagrantly unjust to blame them for discharging those new duties which are *really* imposed upon their consciences, by new and disinterested views of controverted and important questions. But conversion would not be disgraced by its circumstantial accompaniments, if converts were to pause a little, before they pronounce the whole truth to lie upon one side only—if, reflecting upon their own situation, and communing with their own hearts, they should be impressed with an humble and fearful sense of that fallibility which is inseparable from our common nature—if they would vouchsafe sometimes to separate the proofs and the consequences of opinions, from the moral characters of the persons who hold them—if they would extend to other men the same credit which they claim to themselves, for sincerity of conviction, and uprightness of intention—if they would avoid every unseemly appearance of that versatility which for the sake of popularity, is content to exchange sweet for bitter and bitter for sweet, and

of that shrewdness, which for the sake of convenience, is prepared occasionally to halt between right and wrong—and above all, if they were to be very wary in suspecting, and very tender in censuring, any unfortunate followers, who may have been swayed by their arguments, to adopt *their* opinions, and to imitate their example. Such candour would atone for many of their former errors, and such prudence might serve to restrain their present and their future zeal.

The sketch of Mr. Fox's character which I mentioned to you, if considered as a literary composition, is indisputably worthy of the writer to whom it has been assigned by common fame. The general excellence of it consists in the judicious selection of topics, in the luminous arrangement of the matter, and in diction most agreeably diversified, and most exquisitely polished. It is calm without languor, flowing without redundancy, and elegant without gaudiness. But the particular passages to which I have adverted, were evidently introduced with great deliberation—They have produced, and were intended to produce great effect; and as the judgment which Mr. Burke passed upon Mr. Fox as a debater, is not accompanied by any mark of dissent or disapprobation, the well-wishers of Mr. Fox may be excused for discussing the *real* import of the compliment paid to him upon this occasion by Mr. Burke. To

me, indeed, it appears probable that the more judicious admirers even of Mr. Burke himself, will not be very highly pleased by the republication of a remark which reflects very little credit upon the magnanimity of him who made, or the discretion of him who would disseminate it—The writer to whom I allude, has himself shewn Mr. Fox to have been more than “a brilliant and accomplished debater,” and his manner of shewing it entitles him to my praise, for the clearness of his discrimination, and the beauty of his language—I would therefore cherish the hope that he remembered what he does not entirely approve, and that he has recorded what he would not deign to imitate. But I cannot suffer the charms of his style, or the celebrity of his name, to give undue weight to the words he has selected from the writings of another man, or *eventually* to injure that character which, according to his own words, “he has delineated with accuracy and fidelity.” If he meant to exalt Mr. Burke, as I suspect he did, his attempt was not wise; if he meant to lower Mr. Fox, as I earnestly hope he did not, it was not good. If his sensibility should not for once quite overpower his sagacity, I think that upon reviewing the whole of his statement, he can hardly fail to discover some traces of dissimilitude between the sentiments of Mr. Burke, and his own. Was Mr. Fox a most brilliant

and accomplished debater *only*? Or, was he in *other* respects a great speaker? If Mr. Burke be right, the author of the sketch has ascribed to Mr. Fox too many excellencies—if that author be not wrong, Mr. Burke has ascribed to him too few. Why then did the learned author of the sketch run the hazard of counteracting the stronger praise which was bestowed by himself, by the introduction of the weaker praise which was bestowed by Mr. Burke?

Thus, dear Sir, I have endeavoured to discharge a necessary, but most painful duty. Painful indeed it has been for me to assume the language of controversy, especially as in assuming it, I have been compelled to lay open the imperfections of the dead, and to censure, but I hope without asperity, the imprudence of one who is alive. But it was necessary for me to developé very fully, all the latent properties of an expression, which having been used by one celebrated man, and selected for republication by another, might ensnare common readers into imperfect or erroneous conceptions of the uncommon talents by which Mr. Fox was distinguished as a public speaker. The context itself, as I have already observed to you, contains sufficient matter to refute the insinuation, if they be diligently compared. But ordinary readers are not always upon the alert to make such comparisons, and the insinuation, protected

by the high authority of the speaker, and the seeming assent of the sketch-writer, is quite as likely to sink into the memory, and vibrate upon the ear, as the context.

If these strictures should ever be read by the distinguished person whom I believe to be the author of the sketch, let him not impute them to the prejudices of a partizan, or the acrimony of an enemy. His present partiality in favour of Mr. Burke's politics is much greater than my own. His habitual admiration of Mr. Burke's talents is not. The commendation he has lately bestowed upon Mr. Fox, and upon one who inherits all his virtues, and no inconsiderable share of his abilities, is, I am convinced, sincere. He is himself a scholar of no ordinary class, and a philosopher of the highest. In the courts of justice he has already shewn himself to be a most accomplished debater, and were he in Parliament, HE would rise by RAPID degrees to the most honourable situation among the orators who have survived Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox.

The frequent and indeed unavoidable mention of Mr. Burke's behaviour to Mr. Fox, makes it very necessary for me to communicate the opinion I entertain of his political conduct at the time of a separation, which you, dear Sir, and I, shall ever deplore as an event

most afflictive to the feelings of our departed friend.

In the controversy which arose about a late revolution, Mr. Burke is entitled to my gratitude and my respect, for spreading before the world many adamant and imperishable truths, which are quite worthy of protection from his zeal, and embellishment from his eloquence—many, which unfold the secret springs of human action, and their effects upon human happiness—many, in which he unites the ready discernment of a statesman, with the profound views of a philosopher—many, which at all times, and in all countries, must deserve the serious consideration of all governors and all subjects—many, which at a most important crisis, might have averted the outrages and the calamities we have to lament in a neighbouring kingdom—many, which the principles of our own constitution amply justified, and in which the good morals and the good order of society were interested, deeply and permanently. But I contend, that in a cause to which judicious and temperate management would have ensured success, he was impatient of contradiction, dogmatical in assertion, and intolerant in spirit—that his judgment and his imagination were under the tyranny of his undisciplined and angry passions—that he infused into his writings, the same unexampled and unrelenting violence which burst

forth in his speeches—that his raillery was sometimes tainted with the venom of vulgar malignity, his statements encumbered with hideous exaggeration, and his metaphors bloated and disfigured by the introduction of the most loathsome images—that in describing the primary agents in the French revolution, he uniformly confounded their better and their worse qualities in one dark and wild chaos of invective—that astounded with a spectacle of “confusion heaped upon confusion, to which war seemed a civil game,” with the wreck of all the materials which hold together the fabric of government, and the extinction of all the charities which sweeten private life, he descried very dimly the intenseness, direction, and numbers of those powers, which enable states, like Antæus, to recover from their fall, and which if a Hercules had been at hand to struggle with them, should have been combated by other stratagems of skill, and other feats of prowess, than those which we have witnessed—that in his general reasonings, he frequently lost sight of those intricate causes in the moral world, by which great and rapid evil is sometimes made the precursor of great and progressive good—that in treating of French politics he foresaw, indeed, much, but predicted far too much—that in adverting to English politics, he often applied very ill, what he expressed very well, and inflamed, where he should

have been content to instruct and to warn—that some of the principles he then endeavoured to disseminate, were notoriously at variance with those upon which he had long and avowedly given his support to many of his wise and virtuous countrymen—that the unexpected, and almost unparalleled change in public circumstances, was not sufficient to warrant the undistinguishing and total change, which marked his public harangues, and his public conduct—that in his pamphleteering attack upon the late Duke of Bedford, he trampled on the ashes of the dead, in order to wreak his spleen against the living—that he played off the most formidable artillery of argument and ridicule that ever was pointed against the interests of that aristocracy which he had undertaken to defend; and that loosely, but insidiously appealing to history for the proof of facts, which historians have no where recorded, he for once was guilty of calumnies which an acute and elegant critic suspected upon the first glance, and traced through all the ramifications of rhetorical misstatement to their root, in the want, “not of veracity, but of other qualities, the opposite of which are as adverse to truth as falsehood itself, in that levity and rashness of assertion, which may be as uniform as fraud, and therefore as constantly repugnant to truth”—that he was insolent and vindictive against several

of the old whigs, such as you and I are, and severe even to savage scurrility against all the new—that he insulted and exasperated, instead of endeavouring to enlighten and conciliate, the lower ranks of the community—that he threw an artificial, sombrous, sullen air of mystery, over those rules of government, which every man is authorised to explore coolly and respectfully, while he is required to observe them, and which, if portrayed by the mighty genius of Mr. Burke in his calmer hours, would have appeared reasonable, equitable, and amiable, to every reader of every class—that he laboured to extort obedience by compulsion, where it might have been won from conviction—that he laid rather too great a stress upon those privileges which uphold, I grant, and endear, as well as adorn society, and too little, upon those popular rights, which are essential, not merely to the improvement or to the preservation, but to the very existence of all that is intelligible, or attainable, or desirable, in genuine freedom—Other duties, I grant, were to be done by Mr. Burke, and many of them were done with great ability, when the times loudly called for them—But the duty of explaining and vindicating those rights, ought not to have been left undone, and the spur, as it is called, of the occasion, was not only a very unsatisfactory, but in my view of certain

concomitant circumstances, a very suspicious excuse for neglecting it.

New connexions, new panegyrists, and new rewards, will now and then enable us to account for the reiterated profession of new opinions, or new, elaborate, and fallacious modifications of old ones. Proselytes, dear Sir, after a few misgivings, soon glow with the real or pretended fervour of zealots—Zealots, expecting opposition, cool into determined bigots, and bigots, meeting with it, rankle into persecutors—In order to obtain protection against the indignation of the persons whom they have deserted, they adopt every prejudice, inflame every passion, and minister indiscriminately to every good and every bad purpose of the party, to whom they have delivered over their interests and their honour—But if they happen to be gifted with keen sensibility, most salutary is the warning which they furnish to men who are yet hesitating on the threshold of guilt: for, in sudden wealth, or fleeting popularity, they receive a very precarious recompence for the want of those gratifications which honest ambition had formerly supplied—Impatient of that dreary vacuity, which in active minds follows the loss of their wonted employments, they prowl for some prey to their growing appetite for mischief, and discerning it in the associates whose regard they suppose to be alienated, they spring with equal fury upon

their defects and their accomplishments, their failings and their virtues—They are too stiff-necked to propose any reasonable terms of accommodation, and too high-crested to accept forgiveness, even when they are required to forgive—They brood in silence over the wrongs they have committed, and the retaliations they have provoked—They find themselves alike insensible to the comforts of solitude, and the joys of society—They vainly call to their aid the visions of self-delusion, and the blandishments of flattery, when they would bar the avenues of their hearts against the intrusions of remorse—They hate where they are conscious of not being loved, and try without success to love, where they are doubtful how long they may be themselves esteemed—Worn out, at last, with unceasing inquietude, they are numbered among the dead, with scarcely one sigh from those whom they have abandoned, or one blessing from those whom they have courted. Such are the effects of a wounded spirit, and happy it is for us to remember, that Mr. Fox neither felt, nor deserved to feel them.

It is not for such men as Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, to spend their last breath in dying speeches and confessions—*They* had weightier duties to perform, and I trust that with a deep and composed sense of their imperfections and their accountableness, they performed those duties well.

But if either of them had chanced to be on the brink of dissolution in the presence of the other, I hope, and I believe, too, that his lips in unison with his heart would have pronounced an affectionate farewell.

In regard to the behaviour of Mr. Burke to Mr. Fox, for some time before his death, take, dear Sir, if you please, the full benefit of such pleas as are ordinarily admitted for difference of temper, opinion, and voluntary, or involuntary situation—Grant the largest indulgence which without fatuity or hypocrisy can be granted, to the eccentricities of genius, the blindness of party, the ardour of recent conversion, and the impetuosity of enthusiasm. But mark, I beseech you, the behaviour of the two men—Mr. Burke not only ceased to act with Mr. Fox, but had begun, aye, and continued to vilify him—Mr. Fox on the other hand, continued to speak with tenderness of Mr. Burke's former friendship in public, and in private; he deplored, but rarely censured the political change of Mr. Burke; he praised Mr. Burke's intellectual endowments, mourned for his domestic loss, and left, as long as was possible, an opening for personal reconciliation. Closed it was not, till the charge of a "high treasonable misdemeanor in Russia," demonstrated the bitterness of Mr. Burke's resentment, and the restlessness of his hostility—That charity which had endured many other things, could not

patiently endure this one most deliberate wrong.

You, dear Sir, and I, and other *consistent* friends of Mr. Fox, have not memories so bedimmed, or feelings so benumbed; as never to bestow a thought upon the impressions which such ungracious treatment made on his sensibility—We do *not*, indeed, take any common interest in the triumphs of that ingenuity, which spreads a many-coloured varnish of conjectures and distinctions, and qualifications, over the backslidings of bad men—Of trimmers, I mean, who in all changes of opinion, leer most vigilantly upon all chances of preferment—or, of sophists both in theory and in practice, who whether they stir up the rude storm, or partake the soft gale, are never at a loss for reasons to justify themselves to themselves, and to a shameless crew of *apologists*, lying upon the watch for opportunities to be *imitators*—or, of hirelings, who with equal obsequiousness, and with equal importunity, tender their services to “two masters”—or of seers, who without a blush, “can prophecy “things smooth,” or things rough, at the nod of their employers, and without a pang, bow the knee to “God and Mammon”—But we *do* feel a common indignation, against rudeness leagued with implacability. To our judgments, the sprinklings of praise which drop from caprice

in a fit of indolence, or envy in a state of confirmed ill-will, must now and then betray unequivocal marks of the taint contracted at their source.

You, dear Sir, may be inclined to ask, as other persons have often asked from other motives, Was not Mr. Fox ambitious? Yes, I shall answer without hesitation, and he may be said to have been so almost from the cradle to the grave. But ambition in him was not that headstrong passion which tosses away all considerations of duty and decorum—which hails a friend only in a partizan—which crouches to the mighty, only that it may trample upon the feeble—which truckles for office by the barter of principle, and varies, with the varying opinions and humours of unfeeling rulers, and an unthinking populace. He was led to look up to high employments in the state, by those early and strong associations, which distinguish, and perhaps produce, the characters of individuals—by the example of a revered father, by the influence of education, by splendid connexions upon his first entrance into the bustle of politics, and by the inward consciousness of talents adapted to exigencies the most trying, and situations the most elevated. He aspired to power, because power would open to him, a wider range for the exercise of wisdom and benevolence. He valued fame, because fame is the legitimate reward of

extraordinary merit. But neither power nor fame carried with them irresistible charms to his mind, when they were to be purchased by the surrender of private honour, or by the dissimulation of his real thoughts upon the tendency of public measures to the public good.

When he was engaged in opposition, how meekly did he bear that ascendancy, which it was impossible for him not to gain by the superiority of his abilities, and the dignity of his character? But the most decisive proof of his moderation is, that when employed as a servant of the crown, he was content to bear the chief responsibility for measures, without vaulting into the chief official situation. He humbled, but did not debase himself, and for the loss of exaltation to the highest ministerial power he was abundantly repaid by the esteem of his colleagues, and the confidence of his party.

Whatsoever difficulties may formerly have perplexed us while our judgment was oppressed by our fears, we now can be at no loss to account for the singularity of his conduct amidst those tempestuous scenes in which the follies and the crimes of which human nature is capable, burst upon our notice in their fullest magnitude, and most shocking deformity. While many of his well-wishers and opponents were scared by one common panic—while his illustrious rival seemed in some instances to

temporise for the sake of power—and while for the sake of popularity which soon passed away, he, who had once been the friend of his bosom, stooped to many of the meannesses, and plunged into many of the extravagancies, by which recent conversion would make its zeal the measure of its sincerity, Mr. Fox continued to reason from the treasures of his own profound knowledge, and to act from the dictates of his own unbiassed judgment. At a most gloomy and portentous crisis, and with the prospect of political odium, and even personal danger, he addressed himself to his misguided constituents, to an incensed parliament, and to a terrified people. He argued, he supplicated, he warned, he ventured almost to predict. But he never confounded the use of liberty with the abuse—never seized upon sudden and fleeting prejudices, in order to undermine ancient and solid principles—never provoked outrages, for the purpose of condemning and retaliating them, nor attempted to extenuate those overt-acts of injustice and cruelty, which disgraced a cause not palpably bad at its commencement—overt-acts, you will observe, which themselves owed their rise in too many instances, to unwise and intemperate opposition, and which eventually baffled the expectation of many wise and virtuous men, who had for a time supported that cause, but who ceased to support it, when it

had furnished a pretext for those crimes. If, indeed, the destiny of Europe (and for once let me use this phrase) had permitted his counsels to be adopted in the *spirit* which *really* suggested them to his mind, and for the *ends* to which *alone* he was anxious to direct them, the licentious uproar of popular phrenzy might have been hushed nearly at the beginning of the contest—the savage triumphs of profligate and sanguinary upstarts might have been prevented—the constitution of France might at once have been reformed and preserved, and the life of its amiable sovereign might have been rescued from most unmerited destruction. That most deplorable event may have *surprized* other men less than it surprised such observers as Mr. Fox. But no Christian, however pious, no loyalist, however ardent, no human being, however compassionate, viewed it with more indignation and horror than our virtuous friend.

Opinions may now be tried by the test of facts, and the merits of measures may be decided without undue partiality to statesmen who are no more. I ask only, what intelligent and honest men will always be ready to grant, that moderation in principles is very compatible with ardour in language. The moderation of Mr. Fox, then, at the commencement, and I add, during the progress of the French revolution, was the result of intense and serious meditation

upon the experience of past ages. But the errors of his more ardent opposers have been detected in the recent and melancholy experience of our own times.

“*Quis est,*” says Cicero, speaking of his own mistakes, and his own unhappy times, “*tam Lynceus, qui tantis Tenebris nihil offendat? nunquam incurrat*?*” Upon a subject so complex, and in many respects so novel, as the revolution in France, where the interposition of foreign powers was marked at once with indecision and rashness, where great and general views were suddenly crossed by local considerations or selfish motives, and where the immediate agents at home, were numerous, restless, discordant in their purposes, and infuriate in their passions, no observer could, at the outset, be purely and entirely right. At this distance of time, therefore, the proper enquiry is, who among our countrymen was least wrong? Upon some questions in theory, and many contingencies in practice, all disputants, I think, lie open to the imputation of error. They thought too well, or too ill, of the contending parties. They acted too little in some respects, and too much in others, and to a long and frightful catalogue which history supplies, they have added one striking instance, that the wisest of men may plume themselves

* *Epis. ad Famil. lib. ix. Epis. 2.*

too highly upon their foresight; and that man is doomed to call much of his real knowledge by the just, though humble name of *Επιμυθία*.

But we are led, surely, by the venial, I had almost said, the amiable instincts of our nature, to feel a bias in favour of those persons who from general principles wish well to the liberties of mankind, who recommend peace to governments, and who are solicitous rather to persuade, than compel, and to conciliate, rather than inflame.

The measures which Mr. Pitt proposed, have been tried—Those which Mr. Fox pointed out, have not. But no candid man will refuse to Mr. Pitt the praise of right intention. Yet upon a dispassionate and serious review of the comparative merit to be ascribed to Mr. Fox, few intelligent men would now venture upon direct and unqualified contradiction, if that statesman with some alteration of Cicero's words, had been induced to say, "*Se et plus vidisse, et speravisse meliora* *."

He that in the intercourse of private life, could "be angry and sin not," may be readily supposed to separate every malignant feeling from measures of political hostility, and to make allowances for the unsuspected and complicated motives of those actions which disguise the de-

* Vid. Phil. ii. parag. 7.

formity of ambition from its votaries, and which under the most specious pretences, too frequently disturb the tranquillity of the world. But knowing every unnecessary war to be pregnant with inconveniences and mischiefs which baffle calculation, he was disposed by reflection and by habit to check rather than to rouse, and to assuage rather than to provoke, the fiercer passions of mankind—He rested national glory upon the broad and strong foundation of national security—He laboured to appease, and by appeasing to protect, his irritated, and perhaps injured countrymen, at the hazard of offending their pride, and forfeiting their favour—He preferred dispassionate negotiation to precipitate violence; in his conduct towards foreign powers—In the pursuit of redress, he steadily kept in his view the possibility of reconciliation—He weighed in the balance of impartial justice every complaint of the accuser, and every plea of the accused—He dismissed what was trifling—He explained what was doubtful—He asserted what was clear and equitable—He employed moderation as the harbinger of vigour, and if compelled to unsheath the sword, he would have discerned, welcomed, and improved, every opportunity which the course of events might have afforded him for holding out the olive branch. In order to secure the usual relations of amity and peace, he would have endeavoured to preserve or res-

tore the usual relations of men to men, and of states to states, in the struggles of war. " Ipsam quoque Pacem judicasset, non in armis positam, sed in abjecto Armorum (et Injuriarum) Metu*." Like a wise man of whom we read, he, in times of apparent tranquillity, would not have been wholly unprepared for war. But he would have made peace, and tried to keep it, in the spirit of peace. For the attainment of this difficult, but honourable purpose, he in his negotiations with foreign courts would have employed gentlemen, not upstarts; experienced men, not striplings and sciolists; men of observation upon political characters, measures, and causes, rather than novices who understand not what they see, and spies who often report what they see not.

The western world has, therefore, to lament that this accomplished statesman was not sooner called into office, where his sound and generous policy might have prevented the mistakes of his illustrious competitor, and where, by carrying into effect his favourite measure, peace, he might have restrained that military power, which generated by the enthusiasm of revolution, has transferred the desperate courage of self-preservation to the hardy enterprizes of ambition; which has gathered increase of strength

* Vid. Cicero, Lett. 6, to Plancus, lib. x.

from increasing resistance; which has formed fresh projects after every instance of fresh success, and which now threatens speedy and total subjugation to the convulsed, dismayed, and infatuated continent of Europe.

Though every passing day gives us occasion to regret that the serious and reiterated warnings of Mr. Fox were not more favourably received, and more diligently followed; yet must it afford you some consolation, that justice will be done ultimately and amply to the rectitude of his intentions, and the wisdom of his counsels. The pacific spirit which he recommended, the sage observations which he enforced, the immutable principles upon which he reasoned, the unfeigned and affectionate earnestness with which he pointed out to England the true, and indeed the sole path to safety and to glory, amidst the disasters of the American, the last, and the present war, will not be lost in oblivion. Even to the latest posterity, they will continue to be subjects of useful and interesting investigation to politicians and patriots, who are animated by the same honest desire to consolidate the interests of governors and the governed—to substitute plain-dealing for imposture, and protection for oppression—to soften some of the harsher effects arising from the multiplied inequalities of condition—to correct inveterate abuses, and gradually to improve and

secure social order, by extending and perpetuating the precious blessings of social life.

Surely, then, dear Sir, we shall not be accused of very unreasonable partiality in transferring to our friend the dignified and comprehensive praise, which was once bestowed upon Collatinus, “uno ore cui plurimæ Consentiant Gentes, Populi Primarium fuisse Virum*.”

History, doubtless, will unite the name of Mr. Fox with the names of Demosthenes and Cicero, who, in distant climes, and to distant ages, shed a lustre over the annals of their country—each of them transcendently superior to the most eminent characters of their own times, and of the generations succeeding them—each alike reviled by the venal, and defeated by the crafty, in their endeavours to preserve public liberty—each the most eloquent speaker, and the most skilful statesman that ever adorned the most enlightened and civilized nations of antiquity.

It is pleasing, and I think instructive, to trace points of resemblance, and points of difference, between those personages who have filled a broad space in the public eye,

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo†.

From popular governments we may without

* Vid Cicero de finib. lib. ii. parag. 33, and de Senectate, parag. 17. † Æneid 6.

impropriety derive illustrations of that character, which among ourselves owed the greater part of its splendor to the defence of popular principles; and in speaking of a man to whom the writings of Greece and Rome were familiar, I shall not descend to the childish affectation of apologizing to you, when I employ from them such passages as occur to my memory. If, then, the most virtuous man living had risen up in parliament to oppose Mr. Fox, he would not have been subject, as Demosthenes was in the presence of Phocion, to the mortification of whispering in the ear of his friend

Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπιᾷ ἀνίσταται*.

There have been times when, should certain antagonists have said to him tauntingly, “the people will kill you, if they are enraged up to madness;” he might have replied with Phocion,

Ἵμᾶς δὲ ἔαη σωφρονῶσι†.

Perhaps in foresight he was not very inferior to Themistocles, qui et de instantibus (ut ait Thucydides) verissime judicabat, et de futuris callidissime conjiciebat‡.

Here the comparison must stop, for the patriotism of Mr. Fox was not quite so unscrupu-

* Plutarch. ed. Xyland. vol. i. p. 744. v. ii. p. 803.

† Plutarch. vol. i. page 746.

‡ Corn. Nep. in Vit. Themistocles.

lous as that of Themistocles; and if it had been proposed to him to burn the fleet of a neighbouring state, and thus to obtain the dominion of the seas, he in all probability would have given the same answer which immortalized the name of Aristides—

Τῆς πράξεως ἣν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττει διανοεῖται, μήτε λυσίλεξέραν ἄλλην, μήτ' ἀδικωδέραν εἶναι*.

The Athenians, dear Sir, as you remember, were for once prevailed upon to prefer substantial justice to immediate advantage. But if Mr. Fox had given the same advice with Aristides, would he have met with the same success? Perhaps he would, if he could have communicated to his hearers the same conviction which he must himself have felt, that so flagrant a violation of justice might lead to very disgraceful and very disastrous consequences. But for the present many of our countrymen seem content to say, *victoriæ rationem non reddi* †.

“Hephæstion ‡,” said a great conqueror, “loves Alexander, but Craterus loves the king.” The truth of this observation has been seen and felt by the powerful in all ages. But the experience of Mr. Fox supplies one cheering and solitary exception. For reasons which it is unnecessary to state, few who acted with him could be much influenced by the expectation of patronage. Their attachment, however, reconciled them to

* Plutarch, in Vit. Aristid. v. i. p. 322. † Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. par. 14. ‡ Plutarch. in Vit. Alexand. p. 691.

the loss of profit and of power, and it is, I believe, generally allowed, that the adherents to his party were the friends alike to his private and his public virtues. Such was his singular felicity through life, and I hope not to be accused of any unbecoming partiality, when I notice, as others have done, some peculiar circumstances, which after his death, do honour to his memory.

Strong and agreeable as are the feelings of admiration, yet, unless they be sustained by the approbation of moral qualities in their object, they gradually languish, and at length subside into cold indifference. Though wit for a time may amuse, and genius delight us, the good sense and justice of mankind induce them to take a *permanent* interest only in the disposition of the heart. Mr. Burke, who by the sorcery of his eloquence, had captivated the senate, agitated a whole people with indignation and terror, and stirred up sovereigns to hostile confederacies, is, at this hour almost forgotten by those whom he had endeavoured to please, and those whom he had wantonly provoked—by the supple race of courtiers, and by the “swinish herd.” Mr. Pitt seems to be less censured by his former adversaries, and less idolized by his former panegyrists. The gratitude of some for favours received, the predilection of others for the system of politics which is now thought to prevail, the pleasing remembrance of personal

friendship, and the sincere participation of that respect which *all* his countrymen felt for his magnanimous contempt of self, preserve some degree of veneration, and I add, affection for his name. 'No man was ever more applauded in the zenith of his power, and conspicuous, most assuredly, will be his talents in the records of history. Yet the brilliancy of many of his speeches has faded with the freshness of the occasion which produced them, and the sentiment of popular admiration which during his lifetime was most lively, has undergone a partial decay. But Mr. Fox, who had little to give beyond good wishes, and little to receive from other men, beside the same wishes as the recompence of his good meaning, even now keeps a hold, which from the regret that mingles with it, is stronger perhaps, than that which he had when he was living, upon our attention, esteem, and love. He will long continue to keep it, because his actions were not at variance with his professions, because his political virtues were not disproportionate to his political abilities, and because his errors and infirmities were not accompanied by cowardice, fickleness, dissimulation, or venality.

"Felix Agricola," says Tacitus, "non
"vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate
"mortis." The force of this reflection I have
sometimes felt, when for the purpose of alle-

viating my own sorrows, I have pondered, and exhorted others to ponder, on certain circumstances in the time of Mr. Fox's death. Having lived long enough to soften, we may hope, though I fear not to overcome, the prejudices of his sovereign, of the nobles, and of a deluded and ungrateful people—having remained long enough in office to exhibit a mind stored with a perfect knowledge of the complicated relations in which the British empire stands to foreign powers—having manifested, even in the few measures which he proposed, and in the spirit which he suddenly infused both at home and abroad, the extraordinary superiority of his practical abilities—having again and again given the most unequivocal proofs of that disinterestedness and magnanimity, which made him regardless of popularity, fortune, and power, when opposed to the real and permanent welfare of his country, Mr. Fox was overtaken by a most painful and dangerous illness. But the prospect of approaching dissolution served only to enliven his zeal, and to accelerate his exertions. In his correspondence with the wily and eloquent minister of France, written as it was under the pressure of disease, and even on the verge of the grave, we still see the same noble qualities of his heart co-operating with the same wonderful powers of his judgment. We see in it no vestiges of that ambiguity, upon which the cunning

rely for success, and the base for shelter—no subtleties of sophistry—no artifices of reservation—no arrogant assumption of false dignity—no insidious abandonment of that which is genuine and becoming—no deviation from those sacred rules of sincerity and truth, which extend the authority of their obligation over the whole agency of moral beings, and diffuse their happy influence over the pursuits of individuals, and the negotiations of statesmen.

Might we not rest the credit of our friend's sagacity, moderation, steadiness, and honour, upon his manifesto to the court of Berlin, about the seizure of Hanover? I read it six times attentively, and with fresh satisfaction, from every fresh perusal. I have heard of the serious impression which it made in the best-informed circles at home, and in every court upon the continent.—But how shall I describe it? Shall I say that it was conceived and expressed, *more majorum*? It was so—Shall I add, as Dr. Young said of Johnson's *Rasselas*, “that it was a mass “of sense”—It was that, and more. Let me characterize it then in the emphatical words of an ancient critic—

Πολλῆς ἦν πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγένημα*.

* Longin. sect. vi.

You and I have long been convinced, that manners, and the spirit which regulates them, have a very extensive influence over the affairs of public as well as private life; and of that influence we saw the very happiest effects in the proceedings, not of Mr. Fox only, but of other persons who were lately his associates in power. They were men of sense, men of letters, gentlemen, and statesmen. Their language was sometimes elevated without arrogance, and sometimes temperate without pusillanimity. They restored the old and venerable character of a free, a just, and strong government, in the view of the people, and of Europe. When I think of Mr. Canning, Lord Harrowby, and Lord Chatham, I shall not say that their predecessors engrossed "all the talents." They never themselves harboured such a presumptuous thought. They never uttered such a silly expression. But their intentions were honest, their measures were wise, and their fall was unmerited by themselves, though not unexpected by those who have observed of what stuff court-favourites and novi homines are sometimes made.

Some men will ask, was I not personally interested in the continuance of their power? For aught I know, I might be, and for aught I know, I might not be. But thus much I do know, and to those who would insult me with the question I should confidently say thus

much, that from my youth upward to the present moment, I never deserted a private friend, nor violated a public principle—that I have been the slave of no patron, and the drudge of no party—that I formed my political opinions without the smallest regard, and have acted upon them with an utter disregard, to personal emoluments and professional honours—that for many, and the best years of my existence, I endured very irksome toil, and “suffered” very galling “need;” that measuring my resources by my wants, I now so “abound” as to unite a competent income with an independent spirit, and above all, that looking back to this life, and onward to another, I possess that inward “peace of mind, “which the world can neither give nor takeaway.”

But let us return from this digression, to a more important subject.

After enjoying health of body, and serenity of mind, to an advanced period—after tasting the purest pleasures of friendship and literature—after deserving the confidence of his countrymen—after obtaining the respect of surrounding nations—after devoting a long and laborious life to the freedom of England, the tranquillity of Europe, the abolition of the African slave trade, the correction of Asiatic enormities, and the general happiness of all his fellow creatures, Mr. Fox was doomed to pay the last debt of nature. But he died, let us remember, before his facul-

ties had been impaired by gradual decay—before the comprehensive and salutary plans, which he was beginning to execute, had been counteracted by domestic intrigues, or foreign violence—before the baneful systems of authorized corruption and protracted war, which he had so loudly condemned, and so firmly resisted, were once more brought into action—before the multiplied and aggravated calamities which he foresaw, and was endeavouring to avert, had overspread the political hemisphere—before the errors of his secret rivals, and the machinations of the common enemy, had in every quarter hastened those evils, the presence of which must have wrung with anguish his benevolent and tender heart.

Uncorrupted by the fascinations of praise, undismayed by the clamours of slander, sighing for peace to an exhausted world, and bequeathing to posterity an example fitted to impress the purity, simplicity, and grandeur of his own character upon that of his countrymen, he expired amidst the tears of his friends, and the affectionate embraces of his nearest and most beloved relations. “O Fallacem hominum spem fragilēque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones: quæ in medio spatio sæpe franguntur, et corrumpunt, et ante in ipso cursu obruuntur, quam portum conspicerere potuerunt. Nam qui antea ab honorum perfusione *primus*, aditum

“ Crasso ad summam auctoritatem dabat, is ejus
 “ omnem spem, atque omnia vitæ consilia morte
 “ pervertit. Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum
 “ patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen
 “ rempublicum casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non
 “ erepta L. Crasso a Diis immortalibus vita, sed
 “ donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit*”—but I
 forbear, not so much from inability to accommo-
 date much of the remaining matter in Cicero
 to the present times, as from unwillingness to
 exasperate a set of men, who seem to prefer the
 very harshest discipline of experience to the in-
 structions of sober reason.

To close the scene, the funeral of Mr. Fox
 was attended by persons of the highest distinc-
 tion for science, learning, political abilities, and
 hereditary rank. The procession was marked
 by a deep and solemn silence, which evinced the
 unfeigned sorrow of all spectators; and his re-
 mains were interred in Westminster Abbey, the
 hallowed repository of departed sages, heroes,
 patriots and kings.

Away with those politics, and that philoso-
 phy, which would steel our hearts against the
 honest feelings of nature. Why, dear Sir, should
 we dissemble, or indeed how *can* we forget what
 we experienced when the lifeless body of our
 friend was “ committed to the ground” near

* Vid. Cicero de Oratore, lib. iii. par. 2.

the grave of a rival who, but a few months before, had fallen from the heights of fame and power into the "valley of the shadow of death?" Was it not melancholy and awe, mingled with a sort of wonder, which restrained and attempered by circumstances, soothed, rather than ruffled the observer, and with solemn reflections upon the appointed end of genius, ambition, and all sublunary glories? Reviewing and cherishing what we then felt during the hallowed rites of burial, why should we hesitate to apply to these extraordinary men, some striking words, which, in the last century, were quoted with singular felicity, but with allusions less favourable, at the interment of a celebrated exile* from the country, and the sepulchres of his fathers?

"Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
 "Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt†."

The death of Mr. Fox, accompanied as it was by the sweet remembrance of benefits so recently conferred, or intended to be conferred, on so large a portion of the human race, will ever be interesting to my mind. When contrasted with the toils, disappointments, and unmerited indignities which he had been doomed to endure for many years, it resembles a well-executed drama, in which some distinguished

* Bishop Atterbury.

† Georg. iv.

personage has, through a series of sharp trials, preserved his consistency to the close, and meets at last with that justice which had been long withholden from him. In the bosoms of those who attended him in his last moments, it must excite the most serious wishes, that their own end "may be like his," and to himself, we trust, it was, in the language of Milton, "a gentle wafting to immortal life*." "Si quis
 "piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ
 "animæ; placide quiescat. Nos Amicos suos
 "ab infirmo desiderio, ad contemplationem virtutum suarum vocet. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id quoque Uxori, Nepotique ejus præceperim, sic Mariti,
 "sic Avunculi memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis
 "complectantur. Non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quæ marmore aut ære finguntur. Sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulaera
 "vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna, quam tenere et exprimere, non per
 "alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis†."

They who pursue the plain and straight course from which he never swerved, will do just homage to his moral and intellectual excellen-

* Vid. *Paradise Lost*, book xii.

† Tacit. in *Vit. Agric.*

cies, and will obtain to themselves immortal honour for their sagacity, their fortitude, and their integrity. But they who strike aside into the dark and crooked bye-paths which he always shunned, will stand convicted of insulting his memory, of sacrificing patriotism to selfishness, and of heaping disgrace and destruction upon that empire, which his principles had adorned, and which his counsels might have preserved.

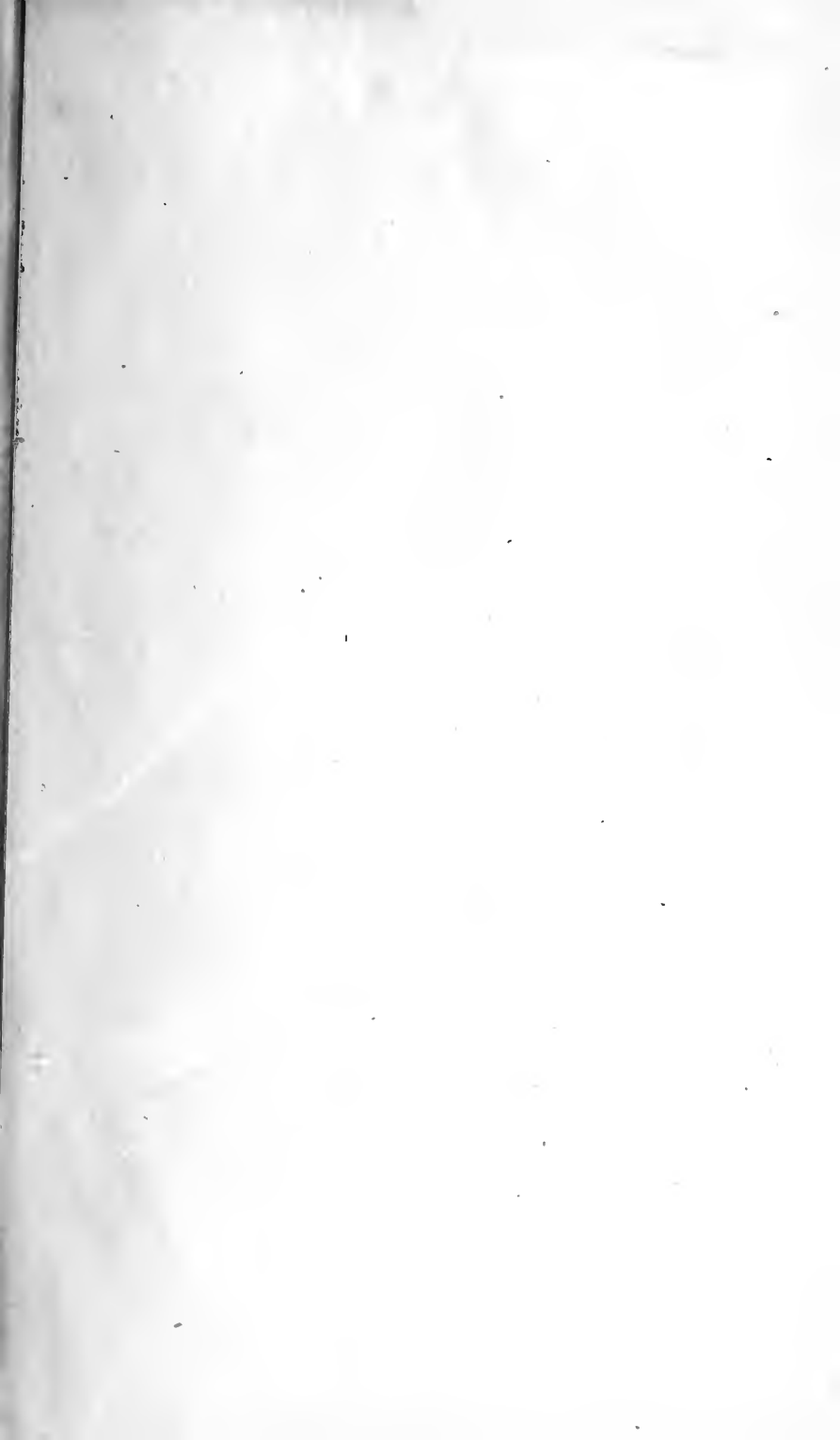
To you, who feel as I do, the unusual importance of the subjects which I have had occasion to discuss in this letter, no apology can be necessary for the unusual length of it. It is written with that sincerity which becomes a real friend of Mr. Fox, and with which I shall ever be ready to prove myself, dear Sir,

Your well wisher, &c.

December 6, 1807.

NOTES.









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